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AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

SOME ACCOUNT OF GEORGE WASHINGTON'S LIBRARY
AND MANUSCRIPT RECORDS AND THEIR DISPERSION
FROM MOUNT VERNON, WITH AN EXCERPT OF
THREE MONTHS FROM HIS DIARY IN 1774,
WHILE ATTENDING THE FIRST CONTI-
NENTAL CONGRESS, WITH NOTES.

BY

J. M. TONER, M. D.

(From the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1892, pages 73-169.)

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WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1894.

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WASHINGTON: A



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By J. M. TONER, M. D.

WASHINGTON'S LIBRARY AND MANUSCRIPT RECORDS.

It has been suggested to me to furnish for publication in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association, as of special historical interest, that part of George Washington's diary beginning one month prior to the meeting of the Continental Congress of 1774, continuing through the sitting of that body in Philadelphia, and closing with his return to Mount Vernon.

The suggestion is made on the theory that, as I have already obtained literal copies of all the volumes, known to be in existence, of the diary of this illustrious character and, with explanatory notes, have them practically ready for the press, I could furnish any required part as an excerpt with but little inconvenience or labor and with no detriment to the diary when published in a complete form. In the main this supposition is correct.

Washington's diary and recorded notes upon passing events and all his allusions to persons and places at any period, brief though they be, are of very high value to all who are interested in his life and the history of the Republic which he did so much to found.

His diary is measurably continuous, with but few breaks, from 1760 to the close of his eventful life. It is true some selections from it have been printed in "Washington's Writings," by Sparks, also by other editors covering particular periods; but never in a consecutive form which made any pretension to completeness. The fact may not be generally known that

the diary of George Washington is written on both sides of the paper, in a series of small almanacs, having blank leaves bound in them, and in pocket memorandum books containing about one hundred pages of $3\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches in size. For some years the entries fill several of such books. In time these volumes became quite numerous, which, with their small size and want of uniformity in shape and binding, added to the danger of their loss from accidental displacement, as well as by deliberate abstraction.

At the general's death, all of his papers were left intact and in excellent order. Judge Marshall had the use of the archives at Mount Vernon in the preparation of his "Life of Washington," begun the year of the General's death, and published in 1804-07 in five volumes, but he makes no mention of the loss or absence of any papers. However, from the lax care and the want of a due appreciation of the great value of these papers, during the long period which elapsed before the historian Jared Sparks began a systematic examination of the letters and papers in this repository of unique records of Washington's early life as well as of his labors during the War of Independence, the adoption of the constitution of the United States and the inauguration and administration of the Government under it for eight years, the collection had suffered considerable spoliation.

It is, therefore, difficult to avoid the reflection that Gen. Washington's nephew and executor, to whom he left his library and papers, with the Mount Vernon mansion and a plantation attached of over 4,000 acres, lamentably failed to appreciate, in any magnanimous sense, his duty to his uncle's memory or the value to history of these precious literary treasures.

It is known that Judge Bushrod Washington gave some of the volumes of the General's diary to his own personal friends as memorials and keepsakes, thereby breaking the consecutiveness of the personal record and proving himself entirely oblivious of their historical worth.

It was the General's delicacy alone, I apprehend, that prevented his indicating, in detail, definite measures for the preservation of his papers; his confident expectation being that his nephew, out of common gratitude and with proper comprehension of the value of the collection, would duly devise a plan which should preserve them as a foundation toward a national repository of original records for the true history of the rise of the Republic and the donor's own life, as well as for the light

*Bushrod gave two volumes of manuscript memoranda
entitled "Weekly State of Continental Troops under the
immediate command of His Excellency George Washington Esq.
The other contains copies of Army & French State Papers
See the Ann Histol Virginia March 1894 p 349*

they alone throw on the efforts and principles of so many other worthy actors in that heroic endeavor which founded the Republic we enjoy. The ample estate which went with this collection of papers, he doubtless supposed, would have assured its safe keeping intact, at Mount Vernon, for all time for the benefit of the people of the United States, without becoming an onerous tax upon his nephew or his heirs. He knew the aid these papers would be to historical writers, and the gratification they would give statesmen and the friends and advocates of free institutions. That such was the hope of the "Father of his country," is a natural inference, from many casual expressions in his letters and papers as to their value and the future service they would be to writers, as well as from his uniform habit and ceaseless endeavors from his youth to his last hours to preserve all papers connected with his journeys, occupations, business transactions and official position as General of the Army and President of the Republic, letters received, together with copies of his own letters sent, his papers and journals.

The gift, or devise and trust of Gen. George Washington's books and papers, is in the words following:—

Item—To my nephew, Bushrod Washington, I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession, which relate to my civil and military administration of the affairs of this country.

I leave to him also such of my private papers as are worth preserving, and at the decease of ——— wife and before, if she is not inclined to retain them, I give and bequeath my library of books and pamphlets of every kind. [*See Will.*]

The great extent of Washington's written notes and observations, surveys, drafts of papers, letters and studies of different kinds, is something amazing. In his library these were all systematically arranged in order for reference. His inquiring mind and his disposition to collect opinions, documents and books on agriculture, inland navigation and government, and other lines of thought in which he was interested have been but inadequately presented by his biographers.

The great attention he gave to taking and preserving vouchers for his personal expenses while in command of the Continental Army, and his carefully rendered account to Congress at the end of the war of moneys received and disbursed for that purpose, is in itself a monument to his fixed principles of exactness, industry and integrity. The evidence of this may still be seen at the Treasury Department in vouchers for per-

sional expenses while in the Army, unless the recent spasm for economizing space in the Treasury building, which sent tons of records to the paper mill, may have included them among those as "unimportant and worthless papers," doomed to destruction under an act of Congress.

It is known that Washington, at an early period of the war for Independence, when Governor Dunmore was conducting a destructive warfare upon the villages on tide water and plantations along the Potomac River, where there was no military force to oppose him, and when it was apprehended that Mount Vernon might be pillaged and destroyed, ordered all his papers to be carefully packed and ready for removal to a place of safety, should the necessity arise. Washington's estimate of the importance of his papers in writing the history of the Revolution, as well as that of his own life and employment in the public service, is pretty fully stated in his letter to Dr. James Craik, March 25, 1784; and also to the Rev. John Witherspoon, March 8, 1785.

MOUNT VERNON, *25th March, 1784.*

DEAR SIR : In answer to Mr. Bowie's request to you, permit me to assure that gentleman, that I shall at all times be glad to see him at this retreat—That whenever he is here, I will give him the perusal of any public papers antecedent to my appointment to the command of the American army—that he may be laying up materials for his work. And whenever Congress shall have opened *their* Archives to any Historian for information, that he shall have the examination of all others in my possession which are subsequent thereto; but that till this epoch, I do not think myself at liberty to unfold papers which contain all the occurrences & transactions of my *late* command;—first, because I conceive it to be respectful to the sovereign power to let them take the lead in this business—& next, because I have, upon this principle, refused Doct^r. Gordon & others who are about to write the History of the Revolution this privilege.—

I will frankly declare to you, my D^r. Doctor that any memoirs of my life, distinct & unconnected with the general history of the war, would rather hurt my feelings than tickle my pride whilst I live.—I had rather glide gently down the stream of life, leaving it to posterity to think & say what they please of me, than by any act of mine to have vanity or ostentation imputed to me—And I will furthermore confess that I was rather surprised into a consent, when Doct^r. Witherspoon (very unexpectedly) made the application, than considered the tendency of that consent.—It did not occur to me at that moment, from the manner in which the question was propounded—that no history of my life, without a very great deal of trouble indeed, could be written with the least degree of accuracy,—unless recourse was had to me, or to my papers for information—that it would not derive sufficient authenticity without a promulgation of this fact—& that such a promulgation would subject me to the imputation I

have just mentioned—which would hurt me the more, as I do not think vanity is a trait of my character.—

It is for this reason, & candour obliges me to be explicit, that I shall stipulate against the publication of the memoirs Mr. Bowie has in contemplation to give the world, 'till I shou'd see more probability of avoiding the darts which *I think* would be pointed at me on such an occasion; and how far, under these circumstances, it would be worth Mr. Bowie's while to spend time which might be more usefully employed in other matters, is with him to consider; as the practicability of doing it efficiently, without having free access to the documents of this war, which must fill the most important pages of the Memoir, & which for the reasons already assigned cannot be admitted at present, also is.—If nothing happens more than I at present foresee, I shall be in Philadelphia on or before the first of May; where 'tis probable I may see Mr. Bowie & converse further with him on this subject—in the meanwhile I will thank you for communicating these Sentiments.—

I am very truly Your Affectionate friend & Serv^t,

GO. WASHINGTON.*

To Dr. JAMES CRAIK.

MOUNT VERNON, 8 March, 1785.

REVEREND SIR: From the cursory manner in w^{ch} you expressed the wish of Mr. Bowie to write the Memoirs of my life—I was not, at the moment of your application & my assent to it, struck with the consequences to which it tended:—but when I came to reflect upon the matter afterward, & had had some conversation with Mr. Bowie on the subject; I found that this must be a very futile work (if under *any* circumstances it could be made interesting) unless he could be furnished with the incidents of my life, either from my papers, or my recollection, and digesting the past transactions into some sort of form & order with respect to times & circumstances:—I knew also that many of the former relative to the part I had acted in the war between France & G: Britain from the year 1754, until the peace of Paris; which contained some of the most interesting occurrences of my life, were lost;—that my memory is too treacherous to be relied on to supply this defect;—and, admitting both were more perfect, that submitting such a publication to the world whilst I continue on the theatre, might be ascribed (however involuntarily I was led into it) to vain motives.—

These considerations prompted me to tell Mr. Bowie, when I saw him at Philad^a. in May last, that I could have no agency towards the publication of any memoirs respecting myself whilst living:—but as I had given my assent to you (when asked) to have them written, & as he had been the first to propose it, he was welcome if he thought his time would not be unprofitably spent, to take extracts from such documents as yet remained in my possession, & to avail himself of any other information I could give;—provided the publication should be suspended until I had quitted the stage of human action.—I then intended, as I informed him, to have devoted the present expiring winter in arranging all my papers which I had left at home, & which I found a mere mass of confusion (occasioned

* Copied from transcript in Washington's letter-book, Department of State.

by frequently shifting them into trunks, & suddenly removing them from the reach of the enemy)—but however strange it may seem it is nevertheless true, that what with company; references of old matters with which I ought not to be troubled—applications for certificates, and copies of orders, in addition to the routine of letters which have multiplied greatly upon me;—I have not been able to touch a single paper, or transact any business of my own, in the way of acco^{ts}. &^a during the whole course of the winter; or in a word, since my retirement from public life.—

I have two reasons, my good sir, for making these communications to you—the first is, by way of apology for not complying with my promise in the full extent you might expect in favor of Mr. Bowie—The second is, not knowing where that Gentleman resides I am at a loss without your assistance, to give him the information respecting the disordered state of my papers, which he was told should be arranged, & a proper selection of them made for his inspection, by the Spring. Upon your kindness therefore I must rely to convey this information to him;—for tho' I shou'd be glad at all times, to see Mr. Bowie here, I should be unhappy if expectations which can not be realized (in the present moment) shou'd withdraw him from, or cause him to forego some other pursuits which may be more advantageous to him.—

My respects if you please to Mr^s. Witherspoon.—

I have the honor to be, etc.,

GO. WASHINGTON.*

To the Rev. JOHN WITHERSPOON.

Immediately after the death of his mother, in writing to his sister, Bettie Lewis, he requested her to have “particular care taken of [our mother’s] papers, the letters to her, etc., and to preserve them for him.” His solicitude for the preservation of his letters and papers was exhibited in a marked manner but a few hours before his death, in the directions he gave Mr. Lear:—

Do you arrange and record all my late military letters and papers; arrange my accounts and settle my books, as you know more about them than anyone else; and let Mr. Rawlins finish recording my other letters which he has begun. (*Lear’s account of Washington’s death, in Sparks, Vol. I, p. 557.*)

The list of Gen. Washington’s books at Mount Vernon, made by the appraisers after his death, and to be found in Hon. Edward Everett’s “Life of Washington,” and in the “Home of Washington,” by Lossing, is meager and, I apprehend, very incomplete. It gives less than a thousand titles of books and pamphlets, and about 100 charts and maps. As confirmatory of this view we need only refer to the many stray volumes which may be seen in public and private libraries, and to the collection in the Boston Athenæum, designated as the “Wash-

* Copied from transcript in Washington’s letter-book, Department of State.

ington Library," numbering 1,300 titles; and even this collection, it is known, represents but a part of the books and pamphlets owned by Gen. Washington at the time of his death.

Some account of the dispersion and, as far as practicable, the present resting place of the library of books and manuscripts so laboriously gathered and so carefully preserved at Mount Vernon by Gen. Washington, may have at least a melancholy interest in connection with the diary from which we are about to give an excerpt. The following information as to the Mount Vernon library and manuscripts has been derived from authentic records and other reliable sources.

The library and manuscript papers of Gen. George Washington given to his nephew, Justice Bushrod Washington, one of the executors, were kept intact at Mount Vernon until his own death in 1829. He, however, permitted the free use of them by reputable writers, and under a written contract gave the Rev. Jared Sparks leave to take the manuscripts to Boston to copy and have them near him, for consultation, while he was editing the life and writings of Washington. Many times in the discharge of the public business the heads of the Departments of the United States Government wished to consult these early records, but they were not within their reach. Except a few autograph letters, papers and memorandum books of the immense mass of manuscript at Mount Vernon given by Judge Washington, from the files to friends, as curiosities, the collection was supposed by him to be unimpaired and practically in the condition in which it came into his possession on the death of his uncle. The Judge in his will devises the literary treasures he had received in the following words:—

Thirteenth.—All the papers and letter books devised to me by my uncle, General George Washington, as well as the books in my study, other than law books, I give to my nephew George C. Washington; the books in the cases in the dining room I give to my nephew, John Augustine Washington. (*See Judge Bushrod Washington's will in "Albert Welles's History of the Washington Family," p. 327.*)

George Corbin Washington was a lawyer of ability, the son of William Augustine Washington (who married his cousin Jane, daughter of John Augustine Washington), and a grandson of Augustine, the father of the General. He was liberally educated at Cambridge, resided on a fine plantation in Montgomery County, Md., and was a Member of Congress for three terms. He was for many years president of the Ches-

*He was born Westmoreland Co. Va. 20 August 1789 died
Burlington N.H. 17 July 1854*

peake and Ohio Canal Company. He was twice married and left one surviving son, Lewis William Washington.

This most valuable collection of records, family papers and books thus passed into the legal possession of the Hon. George Corbin Washington; yet from the fact that the greater and more valuable part of them had gone direct to Boston, from Mount Vernon, under a contract bearing date January 17, 1827, between Justice Bushrod Washington and the Rev. Jared Sparks, and were not returned at the time of the Judge's death, nor indeed had they been when the Hon. G. C. Washington made sale of them to the United States, it is probable that a large portion of the Washington papers were, therefore, never in the latter's actual possession.

In the practical administration of the Government under the Constitution, and particularly in the adjustment of claims brought against the United States and authorized by Congress to be equitably settled, the value of these records in reaching just conclusions had often presented itself to the heads of the several Departments. The desire to possess them was not an ebullition of sentiment or patriotism; it would seem that it was almost wholly from a business standpoint, and in consideration of the use they would be to the National Government. It may not be without interest to present briefly in the following compendium some of the steps which led to the acquirement of the greater portion of these precious papers by the Government.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

December 10, 1833.

GEORGE C. WASHINGTON, Esquire:

SIR: Being desirous of rendering as complete as possible the Archives of the United States, and especially those which belong to that most interesting portion of our history, the struggle for independence, I take the liberty to address you on the subject of some official papers and records of General Washington, which are understood to be in your possession.

The value of the papers of your illustrious relative, in a public point of view, was justly esteemed by him; and, in a letter addressed to the President of Congress on the 4th of April, 1781, he informed that body, that it had been found impracticable "to register the copies of the letters, Instructions, &c., in books, by which means valuable documents, which may be of equal public utility and private satisfaction, remain in loose sheets and in the rough manner in which they were first drawn" and he suggested that writers might be employed to arrange and register them. Congress took the same view of the subject, and immediately, on the 10th of April, 1781, authorized him to employ an additional confidential secretary and as many writers as he should judge proper, to arrange and register the public

letters, and other documents in the office at Head Quarters and assign them such salaries as he might see proper.

The Department of State is in possession of the correspondence between the Commander-in-Chief and the President of Congress, and a small part of that with the General Officers and the Governors of States; but, whether the other letters, instructions, &c., above referred to, were ever placed among the archives of the Government, does not appear.

It is presumed that it may be agreeable to you, as well on the grounds of public utility as from a desire to preserve in so safe and so suitable a depository, the official papers and records of your eminent kinsman, to consent, that any, which may be in your possession of that description, may be deposited among the national archives in this Department.

I will thank you to acquaint me with your views on this subject, and, if they should be favorable, to inform me upon what conditions you would be willing to enter into such an arrangement.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

LOUIS McLANE.

To the foregoing proposition Mr. Washington responded fittingly and patriotically, giving a brief outline of the character and extent of the papers of Gen. Washington which he inherited, and expressing his willingness to part with such of them as related to the political history of the country, to the end that they might become a part of the records of the National Government.

The following is his answer in full:—

GEORGE TOWN, *Jan^y. 3^d, 1834.*

Hon. LEWIS McLANE, *Sec^y. of State.*

SIR: I have received your letter of the 10th Dec^r., expressing your desire “of rendering as complete as possible the Archives of the United States, and especially those which belong to that most interesting portion of our history, the struggle for independence”—which are to be found in the official papers and records of Gen^l. Washington, in my possession.

You suggest, “that it may be agreeable to me, as well on the grounds of public utility, as from a desire to preserve in so safe and so suitable a depository, the official papers and records of my eminent kinsman, to consent, that any which may be in my possession of that description, may be deposited among the National Archives” in the State Department, & in conclusion, you request me to acquaint you with my views on the subject, “and if they should be favorable,” to inform you upon what conditions, I would be willing to enter into such an arrangement. I have given to the subject the consideration which its interest and importance merits, and now briefly present to you my views in relation to it.

The papers devised by Gen^l. Washington to my late relative, Judge Washington & by him to me, comprises an immense mass of information, intimately connected with the history of our country from the years 1752 to 1799. They embrace papers in relation to the French war, Braddock's defeat, and other interesting events, prior to the revolution. The papers immediately in connection with the revolution are of great interest and vast amount. These comprise his correspondence with Congress, the Gov-

ernors of the States, the officers of the Army, both American and foreign, and in a word, everything connected with his long and arduous duties as Commander in chief. The next epoch which they include, is that, in relation to the formation of the Government and the adoption of the Constitution, and the history of his administration, comprised in 13 Vols. from 1789 to 1797 & 13 Vols. containing records and transactions between the President and Departments from 1789 to 1797 & also the journal of the President.

The original letters received by Gen^l. Washington from his illustrious cotemporaries and others, & his miscellaneous papers, probably amount to more than twenty thousand, the larger portion of which are bound, and comprise, I think, 121 vols.

In the above description, I have given you but an imperfect idea of the value and magnitude of these papers.

To part with these relics of the father of our country exacts no small sacrifice of personal feeling, but taught by the example of my venerated relative, who never permitted private views and feelings to interpose in the performance of what he conceived a public duty, I will consent to their being deposited in the Archives of the nation.

I am further induced to comply with your request, by the consideration, that these papers are distinctly National in their Character, illustrative of the events of our glorious Revolution, and of the rise and progress of all our political institutions, and therefore should be the property of the Nation. In the hands of an individual, they are also liable to casualties, which might in a moment sweep into oblivion this proud monument of the moral excellence and intellectual labors of one, whose memory is cherished by his countrymen, & whose long life was devoted to their service.

Permit me, Sir, here to add, that it would be a source of proud gratification to me, could I gratuitously present these papers to my country, but duties and considerations of a private nature, which it may not become me to particularize, forbid the indulgence of my wishes.

I am willing that the Government shall possess all the papers of a general character, or in any manner connected with the Colonial, revolutionary & political history of the country, only reserving such, as are of a private nature, or which it would be obviously improper to make public.

To fix a valuation, would be a difficult task, as the intrinsic worth of such property, can be estimated by no standard with which I am acquainted—nor have I any criterion by which to be governed, further, than the estimation which public sentiment has attached to it, together with the opinion often expressed to me by Judge Washington, who conceived that the legacy was of great pecuniary as well as moral value, as furnishing important materials for future publication (exclusive of the compilation now in progress by Mr. Sparks). The manuscripts bound, I think amount to 201 Vols., and I believe I am within bounds in saying, that if all these papers were printed they would make from fifty to one hundred vols.

I have reason to believe, that a liberal sum would be cheerfully given by citizens of one State of the Union, with the view of placing these papers in a public institution and safe depository—but it would be more grateful to my feelings that they should belong to the whole Nation than to any particular section.

Mr. Sparks, who is favorably known to the public as an able writer, is engaged in publishing a compilation from these voluminous papers, which I understand is now in the press, & is looked for with intense interest by the people. The papers are in his keeping at this time, in a fine state of arrangement and preservation, and safe from accidents by being deposited in a fire-proof vault. They are also insured to a large amount.

I cannot name a specific sum, as an equivalent, but confiding in the liberality of the Government, I am willing to enter into such an arrangement as may be mutually satisfactory, in which event, I will transfer forthwith to the Government my title to the papers (with the reservation before mentioned) to be delivered as soon as practicable, after the publication above alluded to.

In consequence of suggestions which have been made on the subject, I will here state, that I have in my possession, that portion of Gen^l. Washington's library, relating to the public records of the country, from the journals of the Continental Congress to the close of his administration, including State papers, etc. I believe the series to be complete, and should it be deemed important to have them added to the library, either of Congress or of the State Department, I am willing that the Government shall have them for such reasonable equivalent as may be decided on.

I have the honor to be, Very Respectfully, Y^r. Ob^t. Serv^t.,

G. C. WASHINGTON.

The letter of the Hon. Mr. Washington was so encouraging as to induce the Secretary of State to have a bill introduced into Congress for the purchase of the Washington papers. The bill was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs to inquire into the expediency of purchasing the library and official and private papers of Gen. Washington, to be deposited in the Department of State.

The State Department furnished to the Committee such information as it could procure of the extent and character of the collection, which, it was found, would add much to the completeness of the records of the Government, as was well known to the officials and clerks who were acquainted with the deficiencies and needs of the office, as well as by historians, who had examined the papers.

April 1, 1834, Mr. Archer, from the Committee of the House, made a favorable report, No. 381, from which we quote:—

From the answer of the proprietor, Mr. George C. Washington, sent to the committee, it appeared that, as well on grounds of public utility as from a desire for the safe and suitable preservation of these documents, he was willing to transfer them in property to the United States, for such equivalent as might be deemed reasonable by this Government.

From evidence annexed it appears that the papers in question comprise an immense mass of information intimately connected with the history of our country, from the year of 1752 to 1799. They embrace papers in relation to the French war, Braddock's defeat, and other interesting events prior to the Revolution.

The papers immediately in connection with the Revolution are of great interest and vast moment. These comprise the correspondence of George Washington with Congress, the Governors of the States, the Officers of the army, both American and foreign, and, in a word, everything connected with his long and arduous duties as Commander-in-chief.

The next epoch which they include is that in relation to the formation of the Government, and the adoption of the Constitution, and the history of his administration, comprised in thirteen volumes; and thirteen volumes containing records and transactions between the President and the Departments from 1789 to 1797; and also the journal of the President.

The original letters received by General Washington from his illustrious contemporaries, and the miscellaneous papers, probably amounting to more than twenty thousand, the larger portion of which are bound, and comprise one hundred and twenty-one volumes.

Such is the general description given by the proprietor, confirmed by a corresponding statement from the gentleman who has, for some time, had the custody of these papers for the purpose of consulting them, and who is better enabled than any other person to give a just account of their character and probable value.

As regards the desirableness of the acquisition on the part of the Government, the Committee can have no hesitation in expressing an affirmative opinion.

As regards the price to be affixed to the papers, the committee have apprehended difficulty, a part of the considerations affecting their value not being appreciable in money. From this they have been relieved, however, by learning the estimate put on them as objects of mercantile speculation. They have been led, from several sources of information, to believe that the proprietor would have little difficulty in obtaining the price which he has consented to receive from the public, from a preference that they should belong to the nation.

The committee would further remark that nearly the same price was paid for the library of Mr. Jefferson, merely, without his papers, which it is now proposed to give for all the autograph and other papers of General Washington, not purely of a private nature, or which it would be improper to make public, together with a portion of his library.

In pursuance of the views they have expressed, they report an amendment to the general appropriation bill, to be offered when this bill shall be taken up.

Appended to the report of the Committee is the following comprehensive description of the collection and an explicit letter on the subject from the historian Jared Sparks to the Hon. Edward Everett, as to the extent and value of the Washington papers, which we copy:—

CAMBRIDGE, *March 3, 1834.*

DEAR SIR: I have received your letter of the 22d ultimo, asking such information as I can furnish respecting the amount and character of the manuscript papers left by General Washington and my opinion as to the sum which Congress may reasonably pay for them.

The amount of the papers may be understood from the following summary:

1. Public and private letters, and other papers before the Revolution, embracing his official correspondence during the French war, *seven folio volumes*.

2. His entire correspondence, official and private, from the beginning to the end of the Revolution, including other original military papers of great value, recorded in *thirty-seven volumes*; also, the first draughts of the above papers on file, being the identical papers which were retained and consulted by General Washington in the Army. It thus appears that there are two copies of all his letters written during the Revolution. The recorded copy was made near the end of the war. There are also *six volumes of orderly books*.

3. Letters and miscellaneous papers, public and private, after the Revolution and coming down to the end of his life, *thirty-six volumes*. Among them are two records of his intercourse with the different Departments while he was President, and many important cabinet papers.

The above are General Washington's own letters or papers. There are besides:—

4. The original letters received by General Washington, and numerous original papers on public affairs, military, civil and miscellaneous, chronologically arranged in a continuous series, amounting to *one hundred and seventeen large volumes*.

5. A few miscellaneous papers on file.

Hence the whole collection consists of *two hundred and three volumes*, besides the copy of the Revolutionary correspondence on file. The papers are, throughout, methodically arranged, well preserved and strongly bound.

As to their value in a pecuniary sense, or the sum which Congress may reasonably pay for them, it is a question not easy to answer; but I have no objection to expressing my opinion. When I took them into my hands I would have given for them, as literary property, \$20,000. The use I am making of them in selecting parts for publication will diminish the value, but still, if the purchase of them is deemed a national object, I should think \$20,000 the lowest price that ought to be affixed for them.

As a historical treasure to the nation, they are altogether invaluable. I have examined all the public offices in the country containing papers relating to Revolutionary events, and I do not hesitate to say that these manuscripts comprise a mass of materials for the history of that period more authentic, rich and important than can be obtained from all the public sources combined.

It would be easy to go into detail and set forth the grounds of my opinion, but this would, perhaps, be gratuitous; I will only add that my impressions have been derived from a very close examination of the subject, and they have constantly grown stronger as I have advanced.

I forward to you a pamphlet containing two letters, which you will probably remember to have seen before, but which will revive some particulars respecting the object of your inquiry.

I am, dear sir, with sincere regards, your friend and most obedient servant,

JARED SPARKS.

Hon. EDWARD EVERETT.

The following is a memorandum of the books and papers furnished by Mr. Washington to the Secretary of State, and is preserved in that office. A similar list had also been furnished to the Committee on Foreign Relations, which, with Mr. Sparks's letter, led to the adoption of the report by the Committee recommending the purchase.

Papers in my office in George Town to be delivered at the State Dept.

- 5 orderly books taken from the British in the Revolutionary war.
- 12 books and pamphlets, being orderly books, warrant, regimental, recruiting, deserters, list of officers discharged, dates of commissions, &c., &c., Revolutionary Army.
- 1 returns of ordnance and military stores.
- 2 manuscript journals of the Congress of 1775.
- 2 inspection rolls of negroes.
- 4 relating to the French war.
- 6 bundles of addresses, resolutions, and answers on his retiring from the Army, as Prest., and on the proclamation of 1793, with the answers.
- 1 bundle of papers, containing letters from John Hancock, from the commander of the British forces, and governors of the States.
- 1 do. original letters from Congress and the Board of War.
- 1 do. original letters to Genl. Arnold, probably found among his papers at West Point.
- 1 do miscellaneous papers.
- 1 do. do. do. military.
- 1 do. do. do. do.
- 1 do. do. do. do.
- 1 do. papers relating to the Cincinnati.
- 1 do. list of draughts and other papers respecting the militia.
- 1 bundle military.
- 2 do. do.
- 1 do. returns of clothing, 1777, 1778, 1780.
- 1 do. military miscellaneous.
- 19 bundles returns of officers and men, agreeable to general orders of September, 1778.
- A few loose papers.
- 1 do. miscellaneous.
- 1 do. papers of 1756.
- 1 do. company pay rolls, with receipts, etc.
- 1 paper, being a "List of Gen'l and Field Officers of the Virginia Line in the late (Revolutionary) Army of the United States, who continued in service to the end of the war, or were deranged in pursuance of acts of Congress."
- 1 bundle report of guards, 21 Augt. 1780.
- 1 do. additional corps resignations, 30th April, 1780.
- 1 do. return of military stores, 1781, 1783.
- 1 do. Genl. returns for Augt., 1778.
- 1 do. return of provisions Northern Department.
- 1 do. hospital returns.

- 1 bundle inspection returns, issues, etc., 1777, 1780.
- 1 do. inspection returns, 1779, 1780.
- 1 do. do. do. do. do.
- 1 do. list of deserters.
- 1 do. arrangements and appointments 1775 and 1776.
- 1 do. Quartermaster-Genl. returns, 1779.
- 1 do. Pennsylvania resignations, 1777, 1778 to 1781.
- 1 do. indentures.
- 1 do. commissaries and quartermasters' returns, 1780.
- 3 do. Virginia resignations (large bundles) 1777, 1778, 1779.
- 1 do. oaths of abjuration and allegiance of the officers of the Army (large bundle) 1778.
- 1 do. Maryland line resignations, 1779, 1780.
- 1 do. cavalry resignations, 1777, 1778 to 1780.
- 1 bundle sappers and miners' resignations, 1781, 1782.
- 1 do. New Hampshire resignations, 1777 and 1778.
- 1 do. promotions.
- 1 do. artillery resignations, 1777, 1778 to 1782.
- 1 do. Connecticut resignations, 1777, 1778.
- 1 do. resignations North Carolina officers, 1777, '78 and '79.
- 1 do. Connecticut line resignations, 1779 to 1783.
- 1 do. bills and receipts, 1778, '79 to 1780.
- 1 do. do. do. of his Excell's family expenses, 1776, 1777.
- 1 do. returns of the Gen'l Hospital, 1775.
- 1 do. returns of military stores, 1779.
- 1 do. Gen'l returns of issues of provisions, &c., Middle Dep't, 1777, 1780.
- 1 do. selection and arrangement of officers.
- 1 bundle resignations of Rhode Island regiments, 1777, '78 to 1782.
- 1 do. Massachusetts resignations, 1780.
- 1 do. New Jersey resignations, 1777, '78 to 1783.
- 1 do. Massachusetts resignations, 1777, '80 to 1779.
- 1 do. resignations and discharges, 1782.
- 1 do. Massachusetts resignations, 1781 to 1783.
- Letter of Fick, late professor at Esslingen.
- 1 do. French poetry in honor of Gen'l Washington.
- 1 bundle letters to Commissioners of Washington City and other persons (recorded in Vol. ix), 1797.
- 1 bundle letters of Gen'l Washington's on various subjects recorded in Vol. xii.
- 10 Vols. Army returns.
- 13 Vols. Journals of Congress from 1774 to 1788.
- Journals of Congress.
- [Endorsement.] Papers in the office of Geo. C. Washington.

Upon a presentation of these facts by the Secretary of State to the legislative branch of the Government, an act of Congress was passed and approved June 30, 1834, appropriating \$25,000 "to enable the Secretary to purchase the manuscript papers and a portion of the printed books of Gen. George Washington, the said papers and books to be deposited and

preserved in the Department of State under the regulations the Secretary shall prescribe."

Before the act became a law, an understanding had been reached between the Hon. George C. Washington and the then Secretary of State, John Forsythe, as to the amount of money to be paid for the manuscript papers and books of Gen. Washington, and the manner of their delivery to the Government.

The following letter, from Mr. Sparks to the Hon. G. C. Washington, concerning the classification of the public and private manuscript books and diary of Gen. Washington, is especially interesting:

CAMBRIDGE, Feb'y 23, 1835.

DEAR SIR: When I took the papers from Mount Vernon, some of the numbers of General Washington's diary, or journal were missing. Judge Washington told me afterwards, that he had found them, and would send them to me; but they never came. They are small, thin, manuscript books. If you find them among the private papers left with you, I shall be much obliged if you will send them to me, as they are essential in writing the life of Genl. Washington. They will go back to you among the private papers. Will you have the goodness to put them into the hands of Mr. Everett, who will bring them safely? I hope you will have the goodness to embrace this opportunity, as another so good a one may not soon occur.

When I send the papers back, do you wish me to direct them all to the Department of State, or shall I put the private papers up separately and direct them to you? I think you told me that you had reserved the private papers, and I should like your instructions.

Respectfully & truly yours,

JARED SPARKS.

Hon. GEO. C. WASHINGTON,

Georgetown, D. C.

As might have been expected, the question of selection and determination as to what constituted private, and what public papers, arose after their delivery and examination in the Department of State. Some deficiencies were discovered, though the delivery seems to have corresponded with the schedule. When these facts were reported by the examiners, it led to a further correspondence between the Department of State and the Hon. G. C. Washington, with the result of adding a very few papers to the original deposit, but leaving a regret with the Department that the whole of the Washington papers of every character had not been provided for in the purchase. The evident tenor of the will of the general, as well as that of his nephew, Justice Bushrod Washington, was to preserve intact and convey all the papers collected and preserved at Mount Vernon as an entirety. Under these two wills, the col-

lection of manuscripts was presumed to have reached Hon. George Corbin Washington intact, and that he made sale of them to the Government with the single reservation already stated. Mr. Washington defended his classification of the reserved papers and quoted in justification the limiting clause in his letter to the Secretary of January 3, 1834.

To bind the parties, a contract was entered into between John Forsyth, Secretary of State, and the Hon. George C. Washington, on August 22, 1834, for the sale by the latter of all the Washington papers described in the clause of his letter of January 3, 1834. The part of the contract describing these papers and their extent is in the following language:—

The said George C. Washington agrees to sell and deliver to the said Secretary of State, for the use of the United States, all the papers of the late General George Washington of which he, the said George C. Washington, is proprietor, including those mentioned in the lists of inventories furnished from time to time to the Department of State as being in his own possession, and those which are in the possession of any other person or persons, more especially those which are in the hands of the Reverend Jared Sparks; together with the printed books referred to in a letter addressed by the said George C. Washington to the Secretary of State on the third day of January eighteen hundred and thirty-four: The whole of the said papers and books to be delivered forthwith at the Department of State at the expense of the said George C. Washington except those in the possession of the said Jared Sparks, which shall be delivered without delay to the order of the Secretary of State, who agrees to permit them to remain in the city of Boston or in the neighborhood thereof until the close of the next session of Congress. * * *

(Document signed by)

JOHN FORSYTH.

G. C. WASHINGTON.

Witnessed by

H. O. DAYTON.

Hon. JOHN FORSYTH, *Secy. of State.*

SIR: I have completed the examination and arrangement of the loose files of the Washington papers in the Department, and have delivered to Mr. Blake thirty-seven volumes, to be bound as you directed.

The papers have been classed and arranged so as to conform as nearly as possible to the various subjects they embrace, keeping each class distinct and generally in chronological order. They consist of—

1. Arrangements of officers, &c., by States in.....	8 volumes.
2. Resignations of officers, by States.....	7 “
3. Oaths of allegiance.....	2 “
4. Regimental returns.....	3 “
5. Brigade returns, &c.....	1 “
6. Reports of guards.....	1 “
7. Inspection returns.....	1 “
8. Q. M. generals returns.....	1 “

9. Clothing returns	1 volume.
10. Provision returns	4 "
11. Returns of military stores.....	4 "
12. Pay and hospital returns.....	1 "
13. Special returns, &c., on various subjects.....	3 "

There are, besides, a number of letters to Gen. Washington, from the Presidents of Congress, and various public officers, that probably belong to the bound volumes in the possession of Mr. Sparks; these have been laid aside to be put in their proper places, when the books are delivered to the Department.

There are, also, several bundles of papers that relate to the present Government: they have not been put up with those of the Revolution, but, if you should so decide, can easily be added to them.

I have the honour to be, very respectfully, &c.

PETER FORCE.

WASHINGTON, *September 23, 1834.*

As the memory of Jared Sparks must forever be associated with his labors on the writings of Washington, the following letter from him to the Hon. George C. Washington, must prove of interest. It refers to the unfortunate permission granted by Justice Bushrod Washington to the Rev. William Buel Sprague, to take original letters of Washington's from the files at Mount Vernon, provided he would leave copies of them in their stead. In 1816, Mr. Sprague was a private tutor in the family of Maj. Lawrence Lewis, who had married Nellie Custis, and resided at Wood Lawn, an estate given him by Gen. Washington. The number of letters so taken is stated to have been 1,500. (*See Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, Vol. viii, p. 417.*)

CAMBRIDGE, *September 20, 1836.*

DEAR SIR: Some time after the Washington papers came into my hands, the Revd. Dr. Sprague, of Albany, obtained permission to select certain autographs, on condition that he should leave a fair copy of each paper he took. These copies are bound in the volumes according to their dates.

I mention this circumstance that in case any remarks should be made about the copies, it need not be thought that I have taken any improper liberties with the papers. The autographs were, of course, taken by Dr. Sprague before the papers were purchased by Congress; nor is it known to me that any were taken without leaving copies. The permission was granted to Dr. Sprague by Judge Washington.

I am, sir, respectfully and truly yours.

JARED SPARKS.

Col. WASHINGTON.

The Department of State expected that by this purchase the Government would come into possession of all of General Washington's papers with the exception of those of a purely

personal and private character. This reservation, up to the delivery and examination of the papers, had seemed to the officials to be of little consequence. The letter of the historian, Jared Sparks, to Mr. Washington of February 23, 1835, already given on the subject of the diary makes it evident that he too looked upon these volumes of the diary as coming within the class of private papers, and fully justifying the classification of reserved papers made by Mr. Washington.

GEORGE TOWN, *Dec. 24th, 1838.*

HON. JOHN FORSYTH:

SIR: I owe an apology for not sooner answering your letter, in relation to the papers purchased of me by the Government. Absence from the District during part of the time and a great pressure of engagements and duties when in it, have operated to prevent me from sooner replying. I have been desirous strictly to comply with the understanding between the Secretary of State, Congress and myself & with the conditions, on which I consented, that the papers of Gen^l. Washington should be deposited in the archives of the Nation.

In compliance, I have delivered all the papers which were in the hands of Judge Washington at his death, or which had been placed by him in charge of Mr. Sparks, with the exception of some papers of a private character, which were expressly reserved. Some autographs were taken by permission of Judge Washington & copies substituted, as you will perceive by the enclosed copy of a letter to me from Mr. Sparks. This occurred before I had any control of the papers, but as I understand, they were of but little importance, their value consisting in being in the hand-writing of Gen^l. Washington.

I beg leave to refer you to the correspondence between Mr. McLane and myself on file in the State Department. On the 10th of Dec^r, 1833, he addressed to me a letter, desiring to be informed if I would consent to dispose of Gen^l. Washington's papers to the Government and wishing to know my terms. I replied on the 3rd of Jan^y following and invite your attention to an extract from that letter—"I am willing that the Government shall possess all the papers of a general character or in any manner connected with the Colonial, revolutionary and political history of the Country, only reserving such as are of a private nature, or which it would be obviously improper to make public." And again—"I cannot name a specific sum, as an equivalent, but, confiding in the liberality of the Government, I am willing to enter into such arrangement as may be mutually satisfactory; in which event, I will transfer forthwith to the Government my title to the papers, with the reservation before mentioned; to be delivered as soon as practicable after the publication above alluded to (Sparks's).

This correspondence was referred to the Committee of Foreign Relations of the House of Reps., which reported the bill as passed by Congress without requiring any modification of my terms.

The whole amount of papers retained by me under the reservation referred to, are contained in a small drawer, and are strictly private, being

principally letters to members of the family, or to persons on business ; and I find by the endorsement, that even a majority of them are recorded in the letter books, handed over to the Department & those which are bound do not relate to his public life.

I will now notice the papers stated to be missing, in the order presented by the memorandum, accompanying your letter.

No. 1. Vol. III, Orderly Book. This volume is noticed in Mr. Sparks's rec^t. to Judge Washington as missing & it is supposed never came into his possession.

No. 2. Two vols. lettered "Miscellaneous" being private papers, & having no connexion with his public life.

No. 3. Diary of Washington are records of daily and private transactions, kept in almanacks, of the same character is the diary of a journey over the Mountains in 1770.

No. 4. Two books of invoices & letters on business with his agents in London, prior to the Revolution.

No. 5. I am informed by Mr. Weaver and Col. Force, that most of the papers under this item of your memorandum, stated to be missing, have been found and are in the Department. If any of a public character are deficient they must have been lost before they came into the possession of Judge Washington or during his life time, as all such papers found by me at Mount Vernon, or returned by Mr. Sparks have been delivered by me to the Government.

No. 6. I have no knowledge of any original letters or other papers having been taken from the bound Volumes, other than as accounted for by Mr. Sparks in his letter to me on the subject, a copy of which is enclosed, with the exception of the correspondence between Gen^l. Washington and John Nicholas, in relation to an anonymous letter addressed to the former over the signature of John Langhorne. As this correspondence deeply implicates the conduct of a distinguished individual of that day in the transaction, I deem it advisable, to withhold it from the public, as no possible good could result from its exhibition. By reference to my letter to Mr. McLane of the 3d Jan^y., 1834, you will observe, that I reserved the right of retaining such papers, as "it would be obviously improper to make public." The correspondence between Gen^l. Washington and Mr. Nicholas, I considered as of that character, nor was I then aware that Mr. Sparks had published any portion of it—I find, however, that he has not published the entire correspondence, some of the letters suppressed, being of the parcel retained by me. I still entertain doubts as to the propriety of placing them in the Department, but on the fullest reflection have concluded, to submit them to your inspection, to be retained or returned to me as you may deem most proper. They now accompany this communication.

Mr. Sparks, it is true, collated largely from the private as well as public papers of Gen^l. Washington & this he had a perfect right to do, under his contract with Judge Washington, but I do not conceive that his giving publicity to them can in any manner affect my right in the few private papers retained by me, which it would not have become me to part with for any pecuniary consideration, & were therefore expressly reserved.

The amount paid by the Government for the immense mass of papers de-

posited in the State Department, was far short of their value, & the purchase money has already been more than reimbursed, by the evidences these papers have afforded, by which many fraudulent claims for large amounts on the Government, have been defeated. I have the Copy of a letter from Mr. Dickens to Mr. Archer of the H. of R^s., dated 4th June, 1834, stating that even at that day & before access was had to the papers in Mr. Sparks's hands, the evidence afforded by the Washington papers in my possession had, in one instance, saved to the Government the sum of \$9,618, and in another case a much larger amount.

I am, very respectfully, Your Ob^t. Serv^t.,

G^c. WASHINGTON.

As time elapsed, a more accurate knowledge of the deficiencies of the Government Records and the importance of the papers reserved by Mr. George C. Washington, in the sale of Gen. George Washington's papers to the United States in 1834, led the Department of State in 1849 to make proposals to buy the remaining papers, with the approval of Mr. Washington. A clause was, therefore, at the instance of the Secretary of State, inserted in the general appropriation bill, which was approved March 3, 1849, as follows:—

And be it further enacted, That the sum of twenty thousand dollars be, and the same is, hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any monies in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated, to enable the Secretary of State to purchase the remaining manuscript, books and papers of General George Washington, the said books and papers to be deposited and preserved in the Department of State.

The following is the schedule of the papers, and a certificate that they were delivered to the Department, and that they agreed with the contract, and also an extract from the article of agreement, on the part of Mr. George C. Washington, to sell and convey the papers indicated to the Government.

Schedule of the papers of General Washington in the possession of Geo. C. Washington.

1st vol. Miscellaneous—containing transcripts in his handwriting at from 10 to 13 years of age, of various legal instruments and forms, 20 pages. Rules of good behaviour at same age, 20 pages. His cyphering book at 13 years old, 178 pages.

List of polls at various elections when he was a candidate for the house of Burgesses of Virginia, 130 pages.

Also act. of expenses, crops made, correspondence, list of his lands, affairs of Truro parish, being a member and vestryman of that church for many years.

2d vol. Miscellaneous—containing notes and observations by General Washington, together with a large and curious collection of matter relating to various subjects. This vol. contains 520 pages.

3d vol. Correspondence, invoices, and in his handwriting, from Oct., 1754, to Sept., 1766, 376 pages.

4th vol. Correspondence, invoices, &c., &c., principally in his hand writing, from 1766 to 1775, 257 pages.

5th vol. Ledger of General Washington, with index embracing 22 years, from 1750 to 1772, 378 pages.

Diary of General Washington, in 14 books, commencing with the year 1760 and closing in June 19, 1775.

The diary for several years is headed, "When, how, and with whom my time is spent." The first diary previous to the revolution closes the 19th June, 1775, when he took command of the Revolutionary army. Two previous to this date are missing for the years 1762-67.

The diary recommences after the war on the 1st of Jan., 1785, and of these there are 12 books and complete to 1787. If these diaries were regularly continued after 1788 they did not come into the possession of G. C. Washington, who, in addition to the above, has the diary commencing 10th Feb., 1799, and closing the 13th Dec. of the same year. This diary is endorsed by the late Judge Washington as follows: "This paper probably contains the last words that General Washington committed to writing—on the night of the 13th (Dec., 1799) he was attacked by the disease of which he died." 2 books of field notes and surveys made by himself, between the ages of 17 and 19, for various persons. Books of his expenses while at convention for forming the Constitution in 1787. 1 book, journal of his tour over the mountains in 1747, youthful letters, memorandums, &c. Journal of General Washington to the South in 1791. Cash memorandum books, 8 manuscripts, in his hand, of extracts and observations from works on agriculture, &c. 1 book of precedents, adapted to the laws and constitution of Virginia, with several legal forms in his handwriting when a youth. 2 journals in 1781. 1 journal of a journey over the mountains in 1784. 1 book of experiments and observations. 1 journal of his voyage to Barbadoes in 1751 (a fragment). Diplomas and Honorary distinctions conferred on him by American and foreign Literary Institutions and Societies.

An interesting letter book in 1755, relating to Braddock's campaign, &c.

Autograph letters from General Washington on war subjects.

Autograph letters to General Washington.

This schedule is endorsed by Lund Washington, jun., after an examination of the papers and books, and comparing them with the list and finding them correct and agreeing, March 13th, 1849.

Now be it known that I George C. Washington, for and in consideration of the premises, and the said same twenty thousand Dollars to me in hand paid by the United States, the receipt of which is hereby acknowledged, have bargained, sold and delivered, and do bargain, sell and deliver to the United States of America, all the said manuscript books and papers of the said General George Washington of which I am in my own right, solely possessed, together with all right, copyright, title, and interest to and in the same. To have and to hold all the said remaining manuscripts, books and papers to the said United States and to their own use and behalf for-

ever. In witness whereof, I have hereunto affixed my hand and seal this 13th day of March, 1849.

G. C. WASHINGTON.

In presence of

LUND WASHINGTON, Jr.

WM. C. ZANTZINGER.

In addition to the books and papers which were inherited by the Hon. G. C. Washington from his uncle, Justice Bushrod Washington, it will be observed that there existed a considerable number of books at Mount Vernon, which the last named left by the thirteenth item in his will to his nephew, John Augustine Washington, to whom he also left the Mount Vernon mansion and plantation, in the words following:—"The books in the cases in the dining-room, I give to my nephew John A. Washington." (*See will of Bushrod Washington.*)

This collection, or rather a part of it, was sold in 1849. W. F. Poole, now the librarian of the Newberry Library in Chicago, in referring, in 1872, to this purchase in a paper on "Anti-slavery opinion before the year 1800," states it "had about twelve hundred titles; of which, four hundred and fifty are bound volumes and seven hundred and fifty are pamphlets and unbound serials." This collection was sold to Mr. Henry Stevens, of London, who at one time designed placing them in the British Museum. They were brought to New York for shipment and a more careful packing than they had received at Mount Vernon. While in New York they attracted the attention of some public-spirited gentlemen of Boston, who bought the collection and presented them to the "Boston Athenæum" where they are kept intact in cases designated "The Library of George Washington." Mr. Poole further says that Mr. Livermore, as discretionary executor of the estate of Thomas Dowse, the "literary leather-dresser," of Cambridge, added to the gift \$1,000 for the purpose of printing a descriptive catalogue of the collection, which we infer has not yet been done, for Mr. C. A. Cutter, the librarian of the Athenæum, wrote me in January, 1893: "This library has never published any separate catalogue of the Washington collection."

A sale of indubitable Washington manuscript and other relics, descending through heirs by will was made to the State of New York. These have the following history and line of regular devise.

The Hon. George C. Washington, already referred to, in making his own will left all his real estate and personal prop-

erty to his wife, saving and excepting his papers which he left to his son and only living child, Lewis William Washington, in the following words:—

Item—I give to my son Lewis W. Washington all my papers, other than those relating to my private business, which I desire my said wife to retain. I also give to my son, Lewis W. Washington the sword of Gen'l George Washington, devised to me by my father, and also the sword and pistol (one [of] them being lost) of the said Gen'l Washington, devised to me by my uncle, Justice Bushrod Washington. *Item*—I give to my son Lewis my law books, public documents, and such other portion of my library as my wife may not wish to retain. *Item*—To my grandson James (Barroll) I give my watch and the gold chain and seal which belonged to and were used by General George Washington. (*See will of G. C. Washington on record at Rockville, Montgomery County, Maryland.*)

Col. Lewis William Washington, who inherited these private papers from his father, George C. Washington, resided on a beautiful plantation, "Belle Air," at Halltown, near Harper's Ferry, Jefferson County, W. Va. He was born in 1812, was married twice, and died October 1, 1871. By his first wife, he had one son and two daughters; and by the last, one surviving child, a son.

Negotiations for the sale to the State of New York of some papers and memorial relics of Gen. George Washington which came to Col. Lewis William Washington from his father George Corbin, who inherited them from Justice Bushrod Washington as already detailed were begun with the officials of the State of New York and an appropriation for their purchase passed by the legislature of that State April 20, 1871, in an act called the "supply bill" in the following terms:—

To Mrs. Lewis W. Washington, of Halltown, West Virginia, the sum of twenty thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary for the purchase of certain relics of General Washington, offered by her to the State, to be paid only upon the certificate of Martin Grover and the Chancellor of the University and J. Carson Brevoort, that said relics are in their opinion genuine, and that it is desirable in their judgment that they should be placed in the museum of the State Library.

The articles are numbered and listed as follows, in the Annual report of the New York State Library for the year 1873:

1. First draft of the Farewell address, May, 1796.
2. Opinions of the surviving Generals of the Revolution, 1791.
3. Tabulated statement of household expenses, 1789.
4. Dress sword of Washington.
5. Pistol, a present from Gen. Lafayette.
6. Gold watch-chain and two seals.
7. Box of surveying instruments.

8. Case of pocket protracting instruments.
9. Compass made by D. Rittenhouse, Philadelphia.
10. Tripod, called in the original list, Jacob's staff.
11. Measuring chain—small.
12. Measuring chain—large.
13. Six marking pins (surveyor's).
14. Volume of costumes of British army, 1742.

The last notable sale of books, which once had formed a part of the library of Gen. Washington at Mount Vernon, and which passed by the wills of the General and also of Justice Washington to John Augustine, was a considerable lot, which had not been offered or sold to Mr. Henry Stevens in 1849.

The war between the States left most of the previously well-to-do Southern people in very straitened pecuniary circumstances, which caused them to part with many highly-prized family relics. Such was the case with the heirs of the second John Augustine Washington, who still owned some of the books belonging to the original Mount Vernon collection, and which had been reserved from all former sales. Those were now collected together and sent to Philadelphia during the Centennial Exposition of 1876, and were there catalogued and sold as a part of Gen. Washington's library. Many of the books had the General's autograph in them. While the books attracted much attention, they brought lower prices than the same books would command at the present day.

While it is true that there have been other sales than those here referred to, at which genuine literary remains and other memorials of Gen. Washington have been disposed of, yet few other considerable lots, so accurately identified by unbroken successions of devises, are known to the writer.

In this hasty review of Washington's literary remains and estimate of its character and extent, it is intended to comprehend not only his letters, private and official, with their drafts, but his Diary and also memorandum notes and observations and accounts of every description, whether written by his own hand or by a secretary at his direction. Every scrap of a written record of this great man of destiny has its value to the student of history and is deserving of preservation.

The Dinwiddie papers, which cover a very important period in the colonial history of Virginia, are rich in early autographic letters. These were bought in London, in 1881, from Henry Stevens, by our most noted philanthropist of Washington city, William W. Corcoran, and presented to the Virginia Histor-

ical Society. To this valuable gift he added a fund, which enabled its accomplished secretary, R. A. Brock, to edit and publish these important historical papers in two handsome volumes. The Virginia Historical Register, begun in 1848, gave to the public many original Washington letters addressed to the executive and officers of the State of Virginia, and also letters addressed to Col. George Baylor and others. The Southern Literary Messenger, also, from time to time, published letters of Gen. Washington. These and other manuscripts possessed by that society, and the valued autographs of Washington's early correspondence with the Provincial Government stored in the State library and the Land office at Richmond, and among county surveyor's records, with the numerous collections, large and small, owned by citizens in different parts of the State, readily place Virginia at the head of all the States in the possession of Washington's literary remains. Of course, we always except the collections owned by the United States Government as the largest and most complete. Within the last couple of years there has appeared in the hands of autograph-dealers of New York several hundred certified returns of surveys with plats made along about 1750, 1751, and 1752 in the handwriting of George Washington. These had doubtless been surreptitiously taken from the records of the counties in the Valley of Virginia, to which they had been returned in accordance with the law made and provided for the government of licensed surveyors. It is thus evident Virginia is still being despoiled of her treasures.

The Massachusetts Historical Society, as early as 1794, came into possession by gift from the heirs of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, of a very extensive and valuable collection of historical and official papers made by that statesman during his long and active public life. The papers were in good order, and cover the whole period of the War of Independence, of which he was a prominent and efficient promoter. Among these papers are many autograph letters of Gen. Washington, who had frequent occasion to write to the executive of Connecticut. These letters of the Commander-in-Chief to Governor Trumbull have been published by the Massachusetts Historical Society and form Volume II of the Trumbull papers and Volume x of the Fifth Series of that society's collection.

The Long Island Historical Society is the fortunate owner of many autograph letters and papers of Gen. Washington. They were mainly bought by the Hon. Edward Everett from the family or descendants of William Pearce, to whom these letters were addressed. He had been for some years Washington's farm manager at Mount Vernon. Upon the death of Mr. Everett, they were sold to the late James Carson Brevoort, who presented them to the Long Island Historical Society. These papers have been carefully edited by Moncure D. Conway, with valuable biographical and historical notes, and form a good-sized volume under the title of "George Washington and Mount Vernon;" being Volume IV of that society's publications.

The New Hampshire Historical Society has published a goodly number of letters written by Gen. Washington to Meshech Weare, governor of New Hampshire, and to other officials during the war of the Revolution.

I have no means of knowing what other autograph material of the General there may be in the office of the secretary of state or the state library of New Hampshire.

Sparks, the biographer of Washington, in 1826 found in the office of the secretary of state of New Hampshire fifty-eight letters of Gen. Washington. Where are they now?

It is known as a fact that two people who had been the recipients of many autograph letters from Gen. Washington, written in the fullest freedom which confidence and affection had established, were destroyed by the persons to whom they were addressed or by their explicit direction.

I refer to the letters Gen. Washington wrote to his wife, and those he wrote to his manager and kinsman, Lund Washington. However much we may blame or regret this destruction, both supposed they were doing a meritorious service and honoring the memory of Washington. The fact that Mrs. Washington destroyed the letters she had received from the General, as well as hers to him, rests upon the testimony of her granddaughter, Mrs. Peter, who was cognizant of the fact.

The destruction of the letters written to Lund Washington by the General rests upon the statement of Mr. Foot, the nephew and adopted son of Lund Washington, who informed Mr. Sparks that near the close of life Lund Washington instructed his wife to destroy all the letters he had received from

the General. This instruction was carried out as far as it was in her power.

The unwarranted surmise that Tobias Lear, long the highly esteemed private secretary of Gen. Washington, and who was in charge of the General's papers at the time of his death, had abstracted or permitted the removal of autograph letters of Washington, and papers which, it is intimated, might have compromised, in some manner, Thomas Jefferson is, I believe, without a veritable sponser or any trustworthy testimony upon which to rest.

A knowledge of the safe preservation and present lodging-place of the original autographs of the many thousands of letters and documents written by George Washington, but more especially those which have not been printed, or only printed in part, interests every American and historical student throughout the world. The want of a calendar and a repository of these scattered treasures, or veritable copies of them in print or in manuscript where they might be consulted, confronts every inquirer who attempts to study the life of Gen. Washington and the history of the American Revolution. Thus far, the most available aid in this direction to the student has been Sparks's collection of the Writings of Washington.

As a slight amplification of the field, beyond this valuable publication, I venture brief references to a few of the many personal memoirs which contain letters of Washington not readily found elsewhere.

The belief is quite general that George Washington preserved complete drafts of all his public letters. I am not aware that he ever made or authorized such a statement; yet his collection proves to be so rich in these drafts as to give some credit to this notion. However, I very much doubt whether an examination and comparison would sustain the correctness of this belief. Many of these drafts are in autograph, others seemingly made from dictation are in the handwriting of clerks; the latter are frequently interlined and corrected in Washington's own handwriting. Madison's collection of autograph letters of Washington shows over twenty of which no copies are preserved in the General's files. ⁴⁵

The earliest letter-press copies of Washington's letters that I have seen are of 1793. The historian, who desires to secure copies of all of Washington's letters can not, I apprehend,

† See his letter to Capt Wm Peachy 18 Sept 1757 in which he says "I keep no copies of epistles to my friends"

afford to rest his hopes on the theory that duplicates have been preserved, but should endeavor to obtain copies from originals (that is, the letter sent) wherever and whenever they come to his notice; besides, the letter sent has often been found amplified beyond the draft and transcript. No editor of Washington's writings has ever pretended to do more than publish selections from his writings; it is doubtless true that no important letters of his have been withheld, and it is universally conceded that those published show his preëminence among the great men of the world. Students in history welcome any publication that gives original letters and documents complete and with literal accuracy.

Among the preserved early memoirs published was that of Maj. Gen. William Heath in 1798. He introduced a number of the letters which he had received from Gen. Washington on military matters.

A memoir of the life of Richard Henry Lee, by his grandson, R. H. Lee, published in 1825, contains much of the correspondence between Gen. Washington and this great patriot of the Revolution. These letters were written during the progress of the war and refer only to military and public affairs. Doubtless others have been preserved by the heirs of this family, of a social and business character, written during Washington's youth and early manhood, to Mr. Lee, who was his esteemed friend from childhood.

The life and correspondence of Joseph Reed, statesman and soldier, of Philadelphia, also brought many letters of Gen. Washington to the notice of the public; giving them with literal accuracy.

The Marquis de Chastellux, who was connected with the French army in America during the Revolution, in a volume of his travels in North America, published in Paris in 1786, translated into English and issued in London in 1787, a revised edition of which, with notes, etc., was published in 1828, gives quite a number of letters which this worthy Frenchman had received from Gen. Washington. They are mainly upon military affairs, entirely characteristic of the general and full of interest.

The memoirs of Gen. Lafayette, in six volumes, published in Paris in 1837, contain many letters from Gen. Washington, as also from other political and military characters in the United States. He had kept a diary or journal of the principal events

in which he took part in America, so that his account of affairs has the character and views of a personal actor. It is probable that he had in his possession many other letters from the Commander-in-Chief not introduced into his memoirs.

The papers of Gen. Rochambeau, now in the Library of Congress, have many autograph letters of Gen. Washington, and copies of many others in French, the originals having been given to friends and autograph collectors, before they came into the possession of the Government.

The careful studies which have been given to the voluminous writings and lives of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, each of whom were influential actors in the Revolution and in the founding of the American Republic, add much to our historical treasures, but the methods of the editors did not afford opportunities to introduce many of the letters of Gen. Washington.

A collection of Washington's letters, written between 1781 and 1783, to Brig. Gen. William Irvine, who was at that time intrusted with the defenses of the northwestern frontier, has been carefully edited and handsomely printed at Madison, Wis., by C. W. Butterfield. The original Irvine papers from which the volume was prepared are now in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

The lives and public services of a number of patriots and compatriots with Washington in the armies of the Revolution, such as Philip Schuyler, Arthur St. Clair, Henry Knox, Joseph Jones, Henry Lee, Edmund Randolph and many other contemporaries with whom the General was on terms of intimacy, and between whom many official and friendly letters passed, have been given to the public in their published lives and memoirs.

Marshall's *Life of Washington* presents a clear exposition of his political views, and gives an authentic documentary history of the various causes and acts which led to the American Revolution and the independence of the colonies, and will always hold high rank in the literature of the subject, but the close argumentative methods pursued by the writer give him little scope for introducing original letters from Washington.

The greatest storehouse of Washington letters and recorded papers, for the majority of students, is the collection given to the public by that ripe scholar and able historian,

Jared Sparks. No fault can be found with his work, except as to the method adopted, which was the fashion of his time and still prevails, to select, omit and dress up the manuscript to suit the taste and opinions of the editor. As regards a comprehensive knowledge of the subject-matter under discussion, a thorough acquaintance with the resources of the country and the character, ability and services of Washington and his associates, no writer has equaled, much less excelled, Sparks; nor are his labors likely soon to be superseded or displaced with historical students. The writings of Washington now being edited by Worthington C. Ford give some desirable letters not to be found in Sparks, while he omits others of value given by that editor. Some of the lives, which have been published of George Washington, reflect hasty studies, contracted views and personal estimates of the writers, rather than the presentation of a comprehensive and impartial picture of Washington as he was, his opinions and his labors. It is, therefore, desirable and all-important that writers have access to original documents or faithful transcripts, so that all his recorded acts and utterances may be assembled before students without curtailment, augmentation, or distortion of any kind, before they can produce a true history of the life, and properly estimate the influence of George Washington upon his country and constitutional government.

The liberty which writers have taken with the Washington manuscripts in giving them to the press, makes it of special interest to historians to know where the originals are, and whether they exist in the chirography of a clerk or secretary, and are signed, or whether they are entirely in the General's handwriting; and whether those published are literal transcripts of an original autograph.

With no complete information in detail, I however venture the opinion that the extent of the autograph material possessed by the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston and the various public institutions of Massachusetts makes that State the second most extensive owner of these autograph treasures.

Two volumes selected by John Cary, LL. D., from the official letters of George Washington written to the American Congress while he was in command of the Continental forces, were published in London in 1795 without notes or an editor's name. The same work was printed the following year in Boston, and

also in New York. The publishers contemplated issuing a third volume, but this was not consummated. It was not deemed prudent by the Government to permit all of the General's letters on military affairs and papers on the policy of the United States to be published at that time, so that this selection, though an important contribution toward a history of the Revolution, represents but a small part of Washington's letters and suggestions to the Continental Congress.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania largely represents the State in the possession of the Washington autograph material in Pennsylvania. This institution has been made rich by the gifts, from time to time, of extensive and choice private collections of literary remains. I am informed the collection now under their control exceeds four hundred autograph letters. The State capital not being situated in a literary or publishing center, historical documents naturally gravitated to the historical society in Philadelphia. However, many other institutions and libraries, public and private, in that city possess valuable collections. In 1826, when Jared Sparks began looking up and copying Washington's papers, he found many autograph letters of the General in the office of the governor of the State. I infer from an interview with the librarian that these letters are no longer on file there. One of the letters Sparks describes as comprising ten folio pages in autograph.

The State of Connecticut ought to possess, and probably has in her State archives and public institutions, a large collection of Washington's letters, for there were in that Commonwealth many influential public characters who had occasion to write to the commander-in-chief, and there was no executive of any State with whom the General of the Continental army corresponded more frequently during the Revolution than with Governor Trumbull.

In 1848 the legislature of New Jersey caused to be published a volume of selections from the original manuscripts and letters in the State library or office of the secretary of State. This publication is entitled "Selections from the correspondence of the Executive of New Jersey from 1776 to 1786." The volume contains letters from many eminent political and military characters not easily found elsewhere. Of the twenty-six letters of Washington given, but six appear in Sparks.

The New York Historical Society and the State Library have each fine collections of original letters of Gen. Washington. These institutions have become the custodians of a number of private collections of historical students and of family papers, many of them containing autograph material of Gen. Washington, some of which have been printed in the New York Historical Society's publications.

Without attempting to enumerate all the books and magazines in which letters of Washington have been published, still the Magazine of American History is conspicuous from the great number to be found in it. The interested inquirer should also consult Niles's Register, Harper's Magazine, The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Dawson's Historical Magazine and other publications of this character.

The States of Maryland, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Georgia, Ohio, Wisconsin and North and South Carolina have each the foundation on which to form a collection of Washington letters. The Lenox Library in New York city has been for years a leading buyer of choice autograph Washington letters and documents.

There are many gentlemen of wealth and culture in the various sections of the Union who possess choice libraries and rich collections of this highly prized Washington autographic material. The following are especially worthy of mention, as best known to the writer, Messrs. William S. Baker, George W. Childs, Ferdinand J. Dreer, Simon Gratz and Charles Roberts, of Philadelphia; Dr. Emmet and Mr. Wm. A. Havemyer, of New York; and Mr. Gunther, of Chicago. But there are doubtless many others.

The late Joseph W. Drexel, of New York, a quiet collector of rare autographs, had, at the time of his death, a complete set of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and also of the signers of the Constitution of the United States. He had besides in his collection over thirty autograph letters of Washington, and a plan of Mount Vernon drawn by Washington's own hand.

A very valuable collection of the autograph letters owned by the estate of the late J. C. McGuire, of Washington, D. C., was sold in December, 1892, at the salesrooms of Birch's Sons, auctioneers, in Philadelphia. The collection was extensively advertised and admirably catalogued, and attracted great attention among autograph collectors, historical writers and librarians.

From the many letters by Gen. Washington, it is (and for a long time to come will be) possible to buy autograph letters, as they emerge from hiding places among old family papers, from which they have never yet been separated. From this source the autograph speculator and auctioneer for years may be able to make more or less notable collections and catalogue sales.

Viewing Gen. Washington's autographic and literary remains in a broad, comprehensive way, and knowing that they are of inestimable value to a thorough study of his life and the history of American independence, I include every letter, document and paper written by him as coming under this designation. It is presumed that autograph letters of Gen. Washington were more carefully preserved by those who received them, and more prized by their heirs and descendants than the letters of any other conspicuous character in history. To the end, therefore, of founding a central and national depository of Washington's writings, which aims to assemble and to preserve literal copies of everything he ever wrote, to be open and accessible to all students, the writer solicits from the owners of such the favor of accurate copies of any original paper written by Gen. Washington, to be deposited in the "Toner collection" in the Library of Congress. The following are the names of some families and public characters with whom Washington corresponded, and among whose descendants it is probable that there may be lodged many important autograph letters. There are doubtless many other families, not thought of by the writer, whose descendants may have Washington papers. Many persons, as a security against accidents, have already deposited their Washington letters in State or public libraries. John Adams, John Armstrong, Theodoric Bland, Daniel Brodhead, John Cadwalader, Benedict Calvert, Edward Carrington, Charles and Daniel Carroll, Landon Carter, Archibald and Robert Cary, George Clinton, Nicholas Cooke, Dr. James Craik, William Crawford, Bartholomew Dandridge, John Dickinson, Count D'Estaing, William, George W., and Bryan Fairfax, Benjamin Franklin, Joshua Fry, Horatio Gates, William Gordon, William Grayson, Nathanael Greene, Alexander Hamilton, John Hancock, Edward Hand, Benjamin and R. H. Harrison, Moses Hazen, William Heath, Patrick Henry, Francis Hopkinson, Robert Howe (N. C.), David Humphreys, William Irvine, John Jay,

Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Johnson, Joseph Jones, Henry Knox, Gen. Lafayette, John Laurens, Tobias Lear, Benjamin Lincoln, Charles, Henry and Richard Henry Lee, Robert and William Livingston, Alexander McDougall, James McHenry, Allen McLane, James Madison, John Marshall, George Mason, George, John and Hugh Mercer, James Monroe, Daniel Morgan, Gouverneur and Robert Morris, William Moultrie, Thomas Nelson, Samuel H. Parsons, Edmund Pendleton, Timothy Pickering, Charles Cotesworth and Thomas Pinckney, Israel Putnam, Edmund Randolph, Joseph Reed, John Robinson, Edward and John Rutledge, Arthur St. Clair, John Sinclair, Philip Schuyler, Roger Sherman, Alexander Spotswood, Adam Stephen, Lord Stirling, Baron Steuben, David Stuart, John Sullivan, Benjamin Talemadge, James, Tench and William Tilghman, Jonathan Trumbull, father and son, Artemas Ward, James, John and Joseph Warren, Anthony Wayne, Meshech Weare, James Wilson, John Witherspoon, Oliver Wolcott, James Wood, William Woodford and David Wooster.

To this list might be added hundreds of names in Virginia and Maryland, and also the names of officers of rank attached to the French forces coöperating with the American army during the Revolution, as well as the commanders of the British army to whom Gen. Washington on occasions wrote letters.

At different times since the principal sales, already referred to, of Washington relics, other minor collections of autograph material, though how severed from his manuscript collection and by what devices brought together, it would be difficult to state, have by the art of the auctioneer been thrust alluringly upon the market. These relics of the "father of our country" would indeed seem to have a "Heavenly grace" about them since they are never exhausted. Thus far there has been but little fraud practiced upon the public in the fabrication of what is commonly designated "genuine Washington relics." It is surmised, however, that there may have been sold a few more chairs, tables, sideboards, fenders, andirons, plates, tableware, candlesticks, etc., than were ever at Mount Vernon, but the fad is progressive and will doubtless extend to autographic material. The attempt some years ago of a Washington City dealer in second-hand books to introduce a book plate in imitation of the one used by Gen. Washington, into a lot of old books, to impose on buyers is not forgotten. Although that

attempt failed, others managed with greater cunning may prove more dangerous.

The descendants of most of Washington's heirs seem to have been strangers to any sentiment or feeling of sacredness for articles once owned by the General, which the public suppose they naturally would attach to the records, books, and bric-a-brac left by their illustrious kinsman. This defect of gratitude and want of due appreciation seem almost incomprehensible to the present generation of patriotic Americans, and yet this was more or less apparent from the time of the General's death. Neither the executors nor the heirs seem ever to have entertained other than a commercial idea of the value of the immortal Washington's memorial and historic treasures. From the various sales of relics that have taken place it is made apparent that Justice Bushrod Washington, who was one of the largest beneficiaries, and who had the custody of all the precious papers must have suffered a great mass of autographic material to be taken away from the collection, but whether with or without warrant we have no means of knowing. Tradition credits Justice Bushrod Washington with the exercise of a most gracious hospitality to visitors coming to Mount Vernon during his ownership, and as having repeatedly invited distinguished persons while viewing the sage's library and papers to help themselves to specimens of Gen. Washington's handwriting as well as to letters from distinguished persons to him. The low estimate, or want of any adequate appreciation, of the historic value of the manuscript papers which remained at Mount Vernon, after the death of the General and his wife, may be said to have become contagious among all who had access to them. Even the historian, Jared Sparks, it would seem became infected, and deliberately mutilated memorandum books and even the diary itself (although he says it was essential in writing the life of the General), by tearing out leaves to give to friends and relic hunters as veritable autographic memorials of our illustrious Washington. For evidence of this fact see specimens in the Dreer collection in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, given by Mr. Sparks to Robert Gilmore, February 22, 1832, with the certificate of the fact in Judge Gilmore's handwriting attached. ✽

The many manuscript volumes which comprise the diary of Washington are now so scattered that it is hazardous to assume that they were or were not (in one form or another) a

- 293 WASHINGTON (George) A. L. s. 1 p. 8vo oblong, *Newburgh*, 2 May, 1783, to Col. A. Hamilton, with certificate signed at back by Mrs. Jameson, stating that this letter was presented to her by Jared Sparks of Boston, Nov. 24, 1837—WASHINGTON (Mrs.) A. L. third person, *Philadelphia*, April 14, 1799, with note from Jared Sparks presenting the two letters of General and Mrs. Washington (*See Southby's Catalogue, vol. 1, p. 154*)

complete and continuous record as to time, if not as to method and matter, when they left the hands of their author. It is possible and to be hoped that other volumes and parts of volumes and missing leaves not now known to exist may yet be discovered which may fill all gaps. Those which are known to be extant are now the property of the United States Government, historical societies, public and private libraries, and collectors of literary rarities, so that it is very difficult to find or obtain access to them or bring the disconnected parts together. As far as the writer knows, his is the only complete assemblage of copies of all the known originals that has ever been made since they were so ruthlessly dispersed from the library shelves at Mount Vernon.

The three months of Washington's diary for August, September and October, 1774, here given, comprise a most important period in the early movements which led the people of the English colonies up to an armed resistance against the tyranny of the mother country. In them are exhibited Washington's busy life, his prudent conduct, diverse employments as a planter, a patriotic citizen and legislator, in whose judgment the people, even then, with great unanimity confided. For sixteen consecutive years he had served in the assembly of Virginia. His military reputation, too, was the most admired of any living American-born citizen. The people of Fairfax County, in mass meeting, had but recently chosen him their chairman and had sent him as a deputy to the provincial convention of Virginia, where he offered those aggressive non-importation resolutions which were unanimously adopted. This thoroughly patriotic convention, too, in its wisdom, selected him as one of the delegates from Virginia to the First Continental Congress in 1774. His daily pursuits and his association with the leading men of the day at Williamsburg, Fredericksburg, Alexandria, Mount Vernon and Philadelphia, are here a matter of record, and attest the fact that wherever Washington went and in whatever company he appeared, he received marked attention from the most distinguished people. His accurate knowledge of public affairs, his good sense and tact in social life, as well as in the political arena, during that and other exciting periods in our history, all stamp him as a man of great wisdom, sound judgment and diplomatic address of the first order. For some time prior to the meeting of the Congress of 1774, he had been receiving at Mount Vernon

numerous and repeated visits from some of the most prominent men of Virginia and Maryland, among whom were such characters as George Mason of Virginia, and Thomas Stone of Maryland, the signer of the Declaration.

On setting out on this occasion for Philadelphia, as was his custom when going east by Upper Marlboro, or south by Port Tobacco, he sent his horses, servants and baggage, as well as those of his traveling companions, across the Potomac at the ferry, which was on his own plantation, some hours in advance of his own departure. A number of gentlemen from the neighborhood were his guests that day, and after dinner, Washington with Edmund Pendleton and Patrick Henry, also members of the Continental Congress, who had been resting a couple of days at Mount Vernon, crossed the Potomac River in front of the mansion in his own rowboat. Mounting their horses in waiting for them on the Maryland side, they rode in the shade of the afternoon by the Port Tobacco road to Upper Marlboro, where they lodged for the night.

This introduction has been extended much beyond the intention of the writer; but he found in his search for the missing volumes of the General's diary that the facts in the history of the breaking up of the great Mount Vernon library were not generally known or accessible to students. It is hoped, however, that this attempt at a schedule of the Washington papers and library, with the connected narrative of the more important sales and removal of George Washington's books and papers from Mount Vernon, with the statement where most of these treasures have found a permanent, yet accessible resting-place, may be a sufficient apology.

The text of the diary is given with literal exactness, the editor restricting his agency in the publication to footnotes, which are designed to furnish the reader with brief references to persons and places named in the diary. No attempt is made to recount the proceedings of this Congress. The debates were never made public and the parts taken by the individual members can not be known. Washington was not an extempore speaker, nor does he record speeches of others. It has been ascertained that John Dickinson drafted the petition to the king and the address to the inhabitants of Quebec, and that Jay drafted the address to the people of Great Britain; while Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, pre-

pared the memorial to the inhabitants of the British colonies, a paper which extorted a eulogy from Chatham. In nearly every instance the individuals named in the diary were enterprising citizens, and some of them leaders of thought among their neighbors. Many of them were zealous in defense of colonial rights, and won renown in the army, while some were lukewarm, and in the march of events adhered passively to the crown, though a few took up arms in its defense. The diary, even in this aspect, throws important light on the views of certain actors during the early days of the controversy which preceded the armed contest that ended in the independence of the colonies. Washington's diplomacy and cultured address opened to him castle and mansion, and enabled him to mix freely with the leaders of every circle in society and learn all shades of popular opinion, thus obtaining views and convictions not usually disclosed.

Burwell Bassett of Eltham. his first was the ninth child
of William Bassett the second ^{a bargee} who suffered an estate or wa
about 1662. Burwell was born March 5 1712. was killed by
a fall from a horse he was taming to the saddle 4th July 1743. He
was twice married 1st to Anne Chamberlayne and 2^d to
Anna Maria Dandridge daughter of John Dandridge Esq and
sister of Martha Washington. Had issue by 2nd wife only

Elizabeth Bassett b 21 July 1758 d March 1773

Anna Maria Bassett b 16 May 1760 d 23 July 1760

William Bassett b 19 Sept 1761 d 1775

Anna Maria Bassett b 26 Feb. 1763

Burwell Bassett b 18 March 1764 of "Eltham" member
of Congress twice married 1st dau of Saml. M. Lantry and
2nd Ann Lelaborn,

John Bassett b 30 Aug 1765 = on Betty Learline Brown

George Bassett b 7 August 1766 d some day

Francis Bassett b 19 Dec 1767 = twice married

1st ~~1765-6~~ George Augustus Washington who d 1793 = 2nd

Tobias Lear Esq to President Washington d 1794

Had issue by 1st husband 1 daughter & two sons

~~Anna Maria, George Fayette & Charles Augustus~~

Anna Maria, George Fayette & Charles Augustus

DIARY OF COL. GEORGE WASHINGTON FOR AUGUST, SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1774.

*Where, how, or with whom my time is Spent.*¹

Aug^t. 1st. Went from Col^o. Bassetts² to Williamsburg³ to the Meeting of the Convention⁴—Dined at M^{rs}. Campbells⁵—spent y^e Evening in my Lodgings⁶

¹ This is the formula or heading repeated in the diary at the beginning of each month for a year or more

² Col. Burwell Bassett, of "Eltham," was the brother-in-law of Gen. Washington. He was the son of William Bassett, of New Kent County, Va., owner of the fine estate known as "Eltham," on the York River, a little above the junction of the Pamunky and Mattapony rivers, which he left to his son. Burwell was twice married; first, to Ann Kidly Chamberlayne, daughter of a planter in New Kent, on the Pamunky River. She lived but a few years. His second wife was Anna Maria, daughter of Col. John Dandridge, a sister of Mrs. Martha Custis, the wife of George Washington. Col. Burwell Bassett was killed by a fall from a spirited horse he was training to the saddle. He had two sons and three daughters.

³ Williamsburg, the Colonial capital of Virginia, is situated between the James and the York rivers, in James City County. It was made the seat of the Colonial government in 1698, on the removal of the capital from Jamestown, on account of a very disastrous fire, which consumed many of the public records and much of the town. Williamsburg continued to be the official residence of the governor and all the provincial officers, and the place where the House of Burgesses met until 1779, when the seat of the new government was removed to Richmond. The College of William and Mary, founded in 1692, with what was supposed to be an ample endowment and an assured income to support it, was established at Williamsburg.

⁴ This was the convention of Virginia. A circular letter drafted by eighty-nine members of the house of burgesses, of whom Washington was one, at an improvised meeting in the "Apollo room" of the "Raleigh tavern" in Williamsburg, after the assembly had been dissolved by the governor on May 25, 1774, was sent to their constituents, recommending that each and every county in Virginia should send deputies to a convention to be held in Williamsburg on the 1st day of August, 1774. At the proposed convention the various questions exciting the public mind, such as

2. At the Convention—dined at the Treasurer's⁷—at my Lodgings in the Evening

3. Dined at the Speaker's⁸ & spent the Evening at my own Lodgings.—

taxation, non-importation, and the holding of a Continental Congress, were to be generally considered. If the latter proposition was accepted, the convention was to have power to select the delegates to a congress of all the Colonies. The measures recommended by this letter being approved, the convention met, was well attended, and their resolves were practically unanimous.

The following memorandum, in Gen. Washington's handwriting, doubtless gives the result of the ballots in this convention for delegates to the first Continental Congress. The original is preserved in the Dreer collection in the Pennsylvania Historical Society:

1774.

Peyton Randolph, Esq ^r	104
Rich ^d . Henry Lee	100
Geo. Washington	98
Pat. Henry	89
Rich ^d . Bland	79
Ben. Harrison	66
Edm ^d . Pendleton	62

⁵ Mrs. — Campbell, of Williamsburg, kept a large boarding house, or possibly, a licensed ordinary. Washington's cash books show that he had, at times, patronized her house since 1759. It is probable that Mrs. Campbell was the widow of Colin Campbell, deputy adjutant to Washington in 1754.

⁶ Washington had one of his own houses in Williamsburg fitted up with the necessary furniture for lodging and office facilities, for transacting business and for conferences with his friends while in attendance at the meetings of the House of Burgesses.✱ The General had also a house of his own in Alexandria, furnished in a similar manner, where he occasionally lodged and where he always met gentlemen for the transaction of business during the sessions of the court and at other times by appointment, in that town.

⁷ Robert Carter Nicholas, esq., was chosen treasurer in 1766 to succeed John Robinson, esq., and served until after 1775.

⁸ Peyton Randolph, esq., one of the grand patriots of the American Revolution, was born at "Tazewell Hall," Williamsburg, Va., 1721, and died of apoplexy in Philadelphia while attending Congress, October, 22, 1775. He was educated at William and Mary College, studied law at the Inner Temple in London, received the appointment of the King's Attorney for Virginia in 1748, while William Gooch was governor, and the same year was elected to a seat in the House of Burgesses. In 1766, on the death of John Robinson, he became speaker. In 1754 he was commissioned by the burgesses to go to England and lay before the Ministry the unconstitutionality of the exaction by the governor of the pistole fee on each land patent. He went, but without the permission of Governor Din-

*. While this was the poor rustic mansion known as the "Six-Chimney house" I am unable to say

There are now no remains of this building and its exact situation is in some doubt. The ground upon which it stood is now included in the garden of the Eastern Cemetery, Sydney, but it still retains the name "Six-chimney lot". A small brick out house still standing was used as a kitchen to the mansion in question. A fine specimen of the gum tree (which tradition relates was brought from the plantations of Mrs Washington's own Louisiana) which ~~was~~ supposed to stand at the front of the house. It is of interest to state that that General Washington & his wife spent some months or more of the long summer in the "Six-chimney-house"; some years since a large black bottle of mineral water was dug up in the situation which had the name I CUSTIS' down in the glass. It is still preserved by the Custis family (see our French Allies p 403)

4. Dined at the Attorneys⁹ & spent the Evening at my own Lodgings

5. Dined at M^{rs}. Dawson's¹⁰ & Spent the Evening at my own Lodgings

widdie, presented the case with ability and secured a modification of the practice. The fee, in time, was discontinued. After Braddock's defeat he headed a volunteer company of 100 mounted men to protect the frontier against an invasion of Indians. In 1758 he was appointed a visitor of William and Mary College, and was a valued officer of that institution. In 1764, as a member of the Assembly, he drew up the remonstrance of Virginia to the pending stamp act. He was chairman of the committee of correspondence in 1773, and influential in bringing about the Continental Congress. He presided over the Virginia convention of August 1, 1774, and was the first of seven deputies selected to attend the Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia the 5th of September that year, and was unanimously chosen their presiding officer. He had had much parliamentary experience, was a man of noble presence, self-possession and kindliness of manner which made him very popular. The friendship between Randolph and Washington was very strong. His wife was the sister of Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia. They left no children. His remains were removed from Philadelphia to Virginia and interred in the chapel of William and Mary College.

⁹ John Randolph, esq., was the son of Sir John and the brother of the Hon. Peyton Randolph. He was born at "Tazewell Hall," Williamsburg, Va., in 1727, and died at Brompton, London, England, January 31, 1784. After graduating at William and Mary College, he studied law and soon took high rank at the bar. His elegant home in Williamsburg was a center of literary and fashionable life before the Revolution. In 1766 he succeeded his brother Peyton as attorney-general of the Colony of Virginia. On the outbreak of the Revolution, he was for a time the medium of communication between Lord Dunmore, the burgesses and council. His sentiment of honor, his regard for his oath of office and his friendship for Lord Dunmore wove a web so binding as to inhibit him from taking up arms on either side and, therefore, with his wife and two daughters, sailed for England, leaving his son Edmund, the patriot, behind. His wife was Ariana, daughter of Edmund Jennings, and granddaughter of Edmund Jennings, for a time secretary of the Colony of Virginia, then attorney-general, and later president of the council, and acting governor of Virginia. After his death his remains were brought to Virginia and interred, according to his own request, in the chapel of William and Mary College.

¹⁰ Mrs. Elizabeth Dawson is supposed to have been Miss Churchill, who married Commissary William Dawson, afterwards president of William and Mary College. As a widow, she kept a fashionable boarding house in Williamsburg for some years. In 1768 she disposed of her coach by raffle, in which Washington took chances. On June 1, 1774, his cash book shows that he lent the lady £2. His ledger in after years shows this account closed by loss, £2.

6. Dined at Mrs. Campbells & Spent the Evening at my own Lodgings

7. Left Williamsburg abt. 9 O'clock & got up to Col^o. Bassetts to Dinner where I stayd the remaining part of the day & Night

Aug^t. 8th. Left Col^o. Bassetts—Visited my own Plantⁿ.¹¹ in King W^m.¹² & Mr. Custis's¹³ in King & Queen—¹⁴ dind at King W^m. Ct. House¹⁵ & lodged at Tods Bridge¹⁶

¹¹ Besides the plantation owned by Washington and situated in King William County, there were lands belonging to the Custis estate, of which he was executor, both in this, New Kent and King and Queen counties. Washington also owned and operated two plantations on the Rappahannock, and three in the valley of Virginia, besides the five composing his Mount Vernon estate, and known as Mansion House, Dogue Run, Muddy Hole, Ferry farm and River farm.

¹² King William County, Va., lies between the Mattaponi and the Pamunky rivers which bound it on the north and south sides respectively.

¹³ Col. John Parke Custis was born at the "White House" on the Pamunky River in New Kent County, Va., in 1753. He was the son of Daniel Parke and Martha (Dandridge) Custis. His father died leaving John and Patsy Custis with a good productive estate to the care of their mother. January 6, 1759, Mrs. Martha Custis was married to Col. George Washington of Mount Vernon. At the latter place these children as wards passed their childhood and enjoyed the protection and guidance of their mother and their foster father, Gen. George Washington. While a boy, Washington spoke of him as John and Jacky, but in 1771 begins to give him his full name, John Parke Custis and writes of him as Mr. Custis. John Parke Custis was educated, at first, by private tutors, but later was for a time at St. John's College, Annapolis, and also at Princeton, N. J. He inherited a good estate which had been admirably managed for him by Gen. Washington. February 3, 1774, he was united in marriage to Eleanor, familiarly called Nelly, daughter of Benedict Calvert of "Mount Airy," Md. The young couple for some years resided at Mount Vernon and then removed to their own plantation known as "Abingdon," on the Potomac River immediately above Alexandria. He was always considerably cared for by Gen. Washington and in all respects treated as a son. Manifesting a desire to serve in the army, Washington appointed him his aide-de-camp with the rank of colonel and he proceeded with the army to Yorktown. During the siege of that place, he was seized with fever and died at "Eltham," the residence of his uncle, Burwell Bassett, November 5, 1781, leaving a wife and four children:—Elizabeth Parke, born August, 1776; Martha Parke, December, 1777; Eleanor Parke, March, 1779; and George Washington Parke, April, 1781. *The latter born at Mt. Airy* The youngest two were adopted by Gen. Washington and his wife. The remains of Col. John Parke Custis were interred at "Eltham." In the fall of 1783 his widow was married to Dr. David Stuart, of Maryland.

¹⁴ King and Queen County, Va., lies between the Mattaponi and the Piankatank rivers, which bound it on the south and north, respectively.

¹⁵ King William Court-House is about 2 miles from the Mattaponi River on the main road to Fredericksburg and about 25 miles from Wil-

9. Breakfasted at Roys Ord^y-¹⁷ Dined and lodged at Col^o. Lewis's ¹⁸ in Fredericksburg ¹⁹

10. Breakfasted at Tylers ²⁰ on Acquiae ²¹—& Dined at home

liamsburg. This court house was unfortunately destroyed by fire a few years ago, causing another serious loss to those already sustained, and adding to the calamitous destruction of Virginia records.

¹⁶Todd's Bridge crossed the Mattaponi River about 2 miles above Aylett's and some 6 miles from King William Court-House. Todd's Ordinary was kept there on the north side of the stream.

¹⁷Roy's Ordinary was kept by Boswell Roy, an extensive planter, a few miles south of Bowling Green. He was a member of a numerous and influential family of this name, who were among the early settlers on the Rappahannock and in its vicinity, and from whom the village, Port Royal, got its name. The name was once attached to "Roy's warehouse" and Royston's in Caroline County. The patriot and distinguished judge, Edmund Pendleton, married a daughter of Boswell Roy.

¹⁸Col. Fielding Lewis, patriot and planter of Fredericksburg, Va., was born in Spottsylvania County, 1726, and died at "Kenmore House," on his large estate adjoining the town of Fredericksburg, December, 1781. He was an enterprising, active, successful and popular business man and the first mayor of the town. He was one of the magistrates of the county, a member of the House of Burgesses and an early and influential patriot in the Revolution. His business capacity led him to be placed at the head of an establishment founded in Fredericksburg, early in the Revolution, for the manufacture of arms. The site of these works is still known as "Gunning Green." He was twice married; first, to Catherine Washington, cousin to Gen. Washington, by whom he had three children: John, Francis and Warner, the last of whom died in infancy. Second, to Betty, only sister of Gen. Washington, by whom he had nine sons and three daughters. Mrs. Betty Lewis was majestic in person, lovely in mental and moral attributes, and in figure and features closely resembled her illustrious brother. The grave of Mary, the mother of George Washington, is on what was then the Kenmore Estate. After the death of Col. Lewis his property was divided equally among his children.

¹⁹Fredericksburg is situated on a broad plateau on the right bank of the Rappahannock River, in Spottsylvania County, Va., and is the seat of justice. It is about midway between Washington and Richmond. The farm of Augustine Washington, on which his son George passed his childhood, was on the left bank of the Rappahannock, a mile or more below the present railroad bridge. His widow continued to live there until 1775, when her children induced her to remove into the town of Fredericksburg. The distance between Fredericksburg and Mount Vernon is 45 miles, which Washington repeatedly accomplished, on horseback, in seven hours.

²⁰Thomas G. Tyler resided on a plantation in the vicinity of Aquia, and as early as 1774, perhaps even before that, kept an ordinary.

²¹Aquia was inland, and is a small village at the head of tide water on Aquia Creek. The main road from Alexandria and Dumfries to King George County and to Fredericksburg crossed the stream at this place.

11. At home all day.—Miss Calvert ²² here.

12. At home all day Miss Carlyle ²³ & her Sister Nancy came here.—Mr. Willis ²⁴ also dind here, & went away afterwards.

13. I rid to the Neck Plantation ²⁵ & came home by Muddy hole²⁶.

Near by was the historic Aquia Creek Church, which was very elegant and spacious for its time. Shipping merchants early established stores at this point and conducted a profitable trade with the planters of Prince William and Stafford counties. A ferry between Virginia and Maryland, which had been maintained near Aquia from an early day, added to the importance of the place.

²²Miss Elizabeth Calvert was the daughter of Benedict Calvert, of "Mount Airy," Md., who married Charles Stewart. Her sister Eleanor married John Parke Custis, July 3, 1774. Ariana, another and younger sister, is, however, presumed to have been too young to have been visiting Mount Vernon at this time. She never married.

²³Miss Sarah, usually called Sally Carlyle, was the daughter of Col. John, a merchant of Alexandria, Va., (who served as commissary, with the rank of major, in the French and Indian war), and his wife Sarah (Fairfax) Carlyle. She had a younger sister, Nancy, and a brother, George, and they were all frequent visitors at Mount Vernon.

²⁴Francis Willis, jr., esq., was a young lawyer much employed by Gen. Washington and by G. W. Fairfax, about this time, in the management of the latter's business. He was the son of Francis, and grandson of Lewis Willis, of Fredericksburg, Va., whose families had intermarried with the Washingtons.

²⁵"Neck Plantation" was a name applied, for a time, to the farms lying immediately above Little Hunting Creek on the Potomac. It contained 1,207 acres of "plowable land." By the purchase of a tract of 1,806 acres from William Clifton in 1760, the bounds of the Mount Vernon estate were greatly enlarged. This particular plantation came to be included in what was afterwards known as the "River Farm," and is so referred to in Gen. Washington's designation of the various farms belonging to his possessions on the Potomac. (*See letter December 12, 1793, to Arthur Young.*) But there were at least two other larger tracts or farms adjoining this purchase from Clifton, included in the River Farm. March 30, 1774, Washington records the fact:—"Walked to my three plantations in the Neck."

²⁶Muddy Hole farm lay nearly 3 miles northwest from the Mount Vernon mansion house and contained 476 acres of beautifully situated clay land. The name had prejudiced this tract in the writer's estimation until he traveled over it. No person seems able to account for the name, which was, however, given to it before Gen. Washington bought it. This and each of the other farms had their overseer, servants, buildings and general outfit independent of each other.

14. Went to Pohick Church²⁷ with Mr. Custis—found Mess^{rs}. Carlyle,²⁸ Dalton,²⁹ Ramsay,³⁰ Adam,³¹ & Doct^r. Rumney³² here upon my Return.—Doct^r. Craik³³ also came in the afternoon.—

²⁷ Pohick Church, Truro Parish, is situated on Pohick Creek, about 7 miles from Mount Vernon and 4 from Gunston Hall. The first edifice was frame, built in 1732. This was the church attended by the occupants of Mount Vernon up to 1765, when it had become so dilapidated as to be no longer worth repairing. Washington was chosen a vestryman in 1765 and was kept in that office for several years. The parishioners resolved at that time to build a new church and construct it of brick. After much discussion a new site was chosen 2 miles farther up the stream and more central to the majority of the parishioners, though but little, if any, nearer to Mount Vernon. It, however, was not completed until 1772. Washington drew the plans for it and served on the building committee. The new church was erected on ground given for the purpose by Daniel French. Washington bought pew No. 28, north side, next the communion table, for which he paid £16, and had it marked with his initials. Lund Washington bought No. 29, which he afterwards sold to the General. While this church was being built the family attended Christ Church, Fairfax Parish, in Alexandria, where the General was also a vestryman and had a pew. Considering the condition of the roads in those days and the distance to be traveled, the Washington family were very constant in their attendance.

²⁸ Col. John Carlyle, of Alexandria, was a native of Scotland, who early in life became a merchant on the Potomac. He was twice married; first to Sarah, second daughter of the Hon. William Fairfax, of "Belvoir." He was in business in Alexandria as early as 1745. In 1753 he erected, on Fairfax street, a large stone residence, which is still standing, and in which he entertained Gen. Braddock in 1755 and the governors of the five provinces who met there to concert measures for the campaign against the French on the Ohio, which ended so disastrously. He was appointed by Governor Dinwiddie in 1754 commissary of provisions and stores for the expedition of that year to the Ohio. His mercantile and shipping business was conducted under a co-partnership with John Dalton. When, in 1748, a charter was granted for the town of Alexandria, he was named in the Act as one of the trustees. On the death of his father-in-law, William Fairfax, he was appointed as Royal Collector of the Potomac. He and all the members of his family were frequent visitors at Mount Vernon. His second wife was Sybil West, daughter of Hugh and Sybil (Harrison) West.

²⁹ Capt. John Dalton, of Alexandria, was a partner with John Carlyle. They conducted an extensive domestic trade in the shipping and importing business, and were contractors to furnish the chief supplies to the Provincial Army of Virginia up to the time the French were driven from the Ohio. Capt. Dalton got his title by commanding, for a time, a company of militia and is occasionally spoken of as colonel. As early as 1748 he was a freeholder and voted in Fairfax County. He was one of the original trustees of the town of Alexandria, appointed in 1748. Before 1760 he built himself, on the northeast corner of Cameron and Fairfax streets, a fine resi-

dence, which is still standing. He was frequently at Mount Vernon on business, his firm buying fish, flour and other products from the General. His children were also frequent visitors at the same place. He died in Alexandria in 1777, leaving a considerable estate.

³⁰ Capt. William Ramsay, of Alexandria, Va., was born in Scotland in 1716. He came to America and settled as a trader and merchant in Alexandria in 1744, and died there in 1785. He was well informed in the laws of trade, familiar with the markets of the world and very popular with the farmers on the Upper Potomac, who bought supplies and marketed their produce with him. He married Ann McCarty, a relative, through the Balls, of the mother of George Washington. Capt. Ramsay early and fully identified himself with the town of Alexandria, as well as with the Colony of Virginia and the interests of the surrounding sections of country. In the act incorporating Alexandria, in 1748, he was named as one of the trustees. His extensive commercial and shipping connections enabled him to supply much of the outfits to the military expeditions of Virginia from 1754 to 1763. On the occasion of an alarm in 1756 of an Indian invasion, he served for a time as captain of a militia company from Fairfax, under Washington. His son, Dennis, was colonel of a Virginia regiment in the Revolution and served as mayor of Alexandria in 1793. Another son, Dr. William Ramsay, served as surgeon throughout the war for independence. He was one of the early merchants to reclaim the flats and build wharves in front of the town. The Washington and Alexandria ferry wharf was originally built by him in 1784-'85. Capt. Ramsay and his family were on terms of intimacy at Mount Vernon. Washington's letters and also his cashbooks show that the General contributed a part of the funds necessary to educate William Ramsay, jr., at Princeton.

³¹ Robert Adam, merchant of Alexandria, was born in Scotland, 1731, and died on his plantation 4 miles from Alexandria, in Fairfax County, March 27, 1789. On coming to America he resided for a time in Annapolis, Md., before settling in Alexandria, Va., in 1753. He had received careful training as a merchant; was well educated; had refined tastes and correct habits. Through his business enterprise, there were inaugurated at Alexandria a number of industries, some of which are continued to this day. He also established methods of exchanges and agencies with merchants, and shipped to different cities and seaports, which had the effect of augmenting the volume and character of his business. For years, he bought the whole catch of fish at the different fishing landings of the Mount Vernon estate just as they were taken from the seine, cured them himself, then packed and shipped them as he found a market. He was a zealous and prominent Mason, and largely influenced the forming and the founding of the lodge in Alexandria, in 1783. As a merchant, his house had a deservedly extensive credit. His home was maintained in elegant style, as refinement and culture were natural to him. In 1772 he completed a new storeroom, the size and finish of which attracted much attention. Gen. and Mrs. Washington, with Patsy Custis, went to Alexandria expressly to see it. Mr. Adam left a family of sons and daughters, some of whose descendants reside in Alexandria at this time.

³² Dr. William Rumney, of Alexandria, was a well-educated physician, a native of Northumberland, England, where his father was established as

Aug^t. 15. Went in Comp^a. with the aforement^d. Gentlemen to Col^o. Fairfax's ³⁴ Sale.—Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Dalton, & Doct^r. Craik came home with me—the Rest did not—Miss Carlyle & her Sister went aw^y.

master of a Latin school at Alnwick. An uncle was a clergyman at Berwick, England. The doctor, after receiving a good classical education, studied medicine and qualified for practice in London. He then accepted service as a surgeon in the British Colonial army, where he remained for several years. Resolving to go to America, he resigned his position, and settled in Alexandria, Va., about 1763. He was employed by Washington to attend, by the year, the servants of the several farms constituting the Mount Vernon estate from 1766 to 1781, at a fixed sum per year. There was also a William Rumney, a shipping merchant, in Alexandria, about the period of this journal, and for years after the Revolution, supposed to be an uncle of the doctor's. It was through the firm of John Rumney & Co., of White Haven, England, that Gen. Washington imported the stone tiling for the great eastern portico of the Mount Vernon mansion.

³³ Dr. James Craik was born at Obigland, Scotland, in 1732, and died on his plantation, "Vaulcluse," near Alexandria, in Fairfax County, Va., February 6, 1814. He graduated, both in letters and medicine, at the University of Edinburgh, and then entered the army as a surgeon, serving for some time in the West Indies. Resigning in the winter of 1753, he came to Virginia with the intention of practicing his profession at Norfolk. But, early in the spring of 1754, an expedition was being organized for the Ohio, which he joined. His name appears at one time as ensign, at another as lieutenant, and again as surgeon. He was with Col. George Washington in the battle of the Great Meadows and the surrender of "Fort Necessity," in July, 1754. On the failure of this enterprise, he remained with the troops at Winchester and went out with the unfortunate Braddock expedition in 1755. He remained attached to the Virginia troops until about 1763. While in the army he acquired one or more plantations in the valley of Virginia, but eventually bought a plantation in Maryland, in the vicinity of Port Tobacco, about 8 miles from Mount Vernon, where he resided until after the Revolution. He served as a surgeon in the struggle for American Independence and rose to be director-general of the hospitals at Williamsburg at the capture of Cornwallis's army. He received from Virginia 6,000 acres of land for his services in the Indian and Revolutionary wars. In 1760 he was married to Mariamne Ewell, by whom he had four sons and three daughters; one of the sons was named George Washington, to whose education the General contributed liberally. The friendship that was formed between the General and the doctor in 1754 lasted through their lives, and the latter was always a welcome guest at Mount Vernon. It was his sad duty to attend the General in his last illness, and was pleasantly remembered in his will as "his old and intimate friend."

³⁴ Colonel George William Fairfax, of "Belvoir," Va., the oldest son of the Hon. William Fairfax, was born at Nassau, in the West Indies, in 1724, and died at Bath, England, April 3, 1787. The Colonel was educated in England, after which he resided with his father at "Belvoir," and found

16. Ramsay Dalton & y^e Doct^r. went away after Breakfast

17. I rid to Doeg³⁵ Run, Muddy hole, Mill,³⁶ & Poseys Plant^{us37}.

profitable employment with Lord Thomas Fairfax, in the Valley of Virginia, and in the development for himself of new plantations in that region. In 1748 he married Sarah, daughter of Col. Wilson Cary, of Hampton, Va. He resided for some years partly at "Belvoir," and in the summer at "Greenway Court." On the death of his father, in 1757, he inherited "Belvoir" and resided there continuously until 1773, when he went to England to attend to some business there, appointing his friend, George Washington, his agent. It soon became evident to him that his stay in England would, of necessity, be protracted for some years, and in 1774 he directed a vendue at which all his household effects should be sold, and "Belvoir" rented. This was done. A list of the articles bought at the first sale, August 15, 1774, by Gen. Washington amounting to £169 12s. 6d., may be seen in a note in "A Journal of My Journey over the Mountains," p. 16. The house was leased but in a few years it was accidentally burned, and was never rebuilt. Early in 1775, Washington resigned his agency in the management of Fairfax's affairs. His estate in Virginia consisted chiefly of lands, much of them of the first quality, which were rapidly enhancing in value. As he had no children, "Belvoir" was left to Ferdinand, son of the Rev. Bryan Fairfax, and his other property to his heirs. The friendship continued between Col. Fairfax and Gen. Washington throughout their lives.

³⁵Dogue Run farm, also spoken of as Dogue Run plantation and Dogue Run quarters lay two miles to the southwest of the Mount Vernon Mansion House, on a creek of the same name. Washington, in a letter to Arthur Young, bearing date 12th December, 1793, describes Dogue Run farm as "consisting of six hundred and fifty acres, with a new building for the overlooker and covering for forty odd negroes and a new Circular barn and stabling and sheds for thirty work-horses and oxen." It adjoined the Mill and the Posey farm.

³⁶George Washington inherited a small mill at the mouth of Dogue Run built by his father and left by him with the "Hunting Creek tract," afterwards known as "Mount Vernon," to Major Lawrence, who left it to George. The frequent mention of repairing the mill-dam and race in Washington's Diary raises the query as to whether it was not badly located or defective in construction. February 10, 1770, assisted by Mr. Ballentine, Washington ran a new line of levels on Dogue Run to determine a site for a new mill, then about to be built. In January, 1771, he records the fact that he had completed the work of turning Piney Branch run into Dogue run to augment the supply of water to his two mills. The Mill plantation included land on both sides of Dogue run, adjacent to the mill but chiefly to the east of Dogue run plantation. In the later years of the administration of the estate the name "Mill plantation" disappears and it is presumed that the lands were farmed under the supervision of the Dogue run overseer and not, therefore, mentioned in Washington's enumeration of farms in 1793.

³⁷Posey's Plantation refers to a farm which Washington bought of Capt. John Posey, lying below the mouth of Dogue Run on the Potomac. In

18. Rid to the Plantation's in the Neck.—found Mr. Fitzhugh³⁸ here upon my Return—

19. Mr. Fitzhugh went away after Breakfast—

20. Rid with M^{rs}. Washington³⁹ to Alex^a.⁴⁰ & returnd to Dinner—

1753, by Act of Assembly, a ferry from Posey's farm to the plantation of Thomas Marshall in Maryland was authorized to be established. There was also on the plantation a good fishing landing for seine hauling, and the buildings necessary for curing the fish caught. In 1769, Washington bought this farm and united it under the Mount Vernon management as a part of the Dogue Run Plantation. Capt. Posey at the time, reserved the ferry and the ferry house with 12 acres which, however, he sold to Washington in 1772. The ferry was continued as an enterprise by Gen. Washington and the fishing landing was also used in season. Capt Posey is believed to have served with Washington in the French and Indian War. He was the father of Col. Thomas Posey of the Revolution.

³⁸Mr. — Fitzhugh. There was a numerous and influential family of this name in Virginia, with whom Washington was on terms of familiar intercourse but there is nothing in the text to designate the particular person here referred to. The writer is left to conjecture that it was either William Fitzhugh of King George County, or the planter John of "Marmion" of that county, both of whom were frequently at Mount Vernon.

³⁹Gen. Washington's attention to his wife and the respectful manner in which he addressed her, alike in the family circle and in company, as well as when referring to her in his diary and letters, was always most considerate, polite and affectionate.

⁴⁰Alexandria, Va. This location was included in a patent or grant for 6,000 acres of land fronting on the Potomac River, and extending from Hunting Creek just below the town to Pomit's run near the Little Falls above Georgetown. This patent was issued to Robert Howson by Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, in 1669. The same year the title was conveyed for the consideration of six hogsheads of tobacco to John Alexander. A "tobacco-rolling house," as such warehouses were then called in Virginia, was established on the site of the present town of Alexandria, then called "Belle Haven." The name of these houses was no doubt suggested by the method of transporting the hogsheads of tobacco by putting a shaft to an axle passed through from end to end of the hogshead, to which a horse was harnessed, and then rolling them over the roads on their own periphery. Alexandria was incorporated as a town with trustees named in the Act in 1748 and its organization effected July 13, 1749. In 1780 it was re-organized under a more republican form of government. In 1763 George Washington became one of the trustees and served for some years. It was here that he often attended church, made his purchases, did his banking, mailed and received his letters. The town is full of traditions of his interest in the place and in the people.

21. At home all day Mr. Moylan,⁴¹ Doct^r. Craik, & Mr. Fitzgerald⁴² Dind here.—the latter went away.—

22. Doct^r. Craik went away after Breakfast, & Mr. Moyland after Dinner hav^g. Rid with to shew Belvoir.—⁴³

Aug^t. 23. At home all day alone.

24. At home all day alone

25. Ditto M^{rs}. Slaughter⁴⁴ dind here

26. Ditto all day alone.

27. Went to the Barbacue⁴⁵ at Accatinek.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Mr. Moylan—as no first name is given, or indication as to business or residence, the person can not be identified with certainty. He is, however, presumed to have been from Philadelphia and one of four brothers; two, John and Stephen, served in the Revolution; the latter for a time was aide-de-camp to Gen. Washington and rose to the rank of a brigadier-general. Chastellux, in his travels in America, mentions the family in complimentary terms.

⁴² Col. John Fitzgerald, merchant of Alexandria, was a native of Ireland. He was well educated and full of commercial enterprise, stable in his purposes and friendships, and fully identified himself with the people of the town and surrounding country. He was married to a Miss Digges, near Bladensburg. He conducted a large and successful shipping and mercantile business and, to the close of his life, deserved and enjoyed the confidence of the community. At one time he was mayor of Alexandria. He bought large quantities of fish, flour and other products from the Mount Vernon estate and shipped them, as opportunity and market offered, to other localities. He was a patriot in the Revolution and, for a time, was on Gen. Washington's staff, and in this position was in the battles of Monmouth and Princeton. (*See Recollections of Washington, by Custis, pp. 190, 192 and 452.*) He was on terms of friendly intercourse and correspondence with A. Lee, R. H. Lee, Robert Morris, George Mason and others. He died in Alexandria.

⁴³ "Belvoir," the residence and estate of the Hon. William Fairfax, was situated on the right bank of the Potomac and was described by Washington as "within full view of Mount Vernon, is one of the most beautiful seats on the river." (*Letter to Sir John Sinclair, December 11, 1796.*) The estate was founded by William Fairfax, cousin and agent of Lord Thomas Fairfax, of Greenway Court, Virginia. On the death of the proprietor, in 1757, it descended to his son, Col. George W. Fairfax, who from youth was the friend and neighbor of George Washington. In 1773 the colonel went to England and, not returning, the place was advertised for rent and the furniture was sold.

⁴⁴ Mrs. Ann Slaughter, of Fairfax County, Va.

⁴⁵ The barbecue feast was a much more popular observance among the people in colonial times than at present. The animal selected for such a celebration was usually a small-sized bullock, although occasionally the pig, bear, deer, or sheep was selected and roasted entire. Such feasts were now and then given by societies, political parties, and by individuals to popularize some measure or rejoice over a success gained.

⁴⁶ Accotink, a hamlet of a few houses, was situated on the left bank of

28. Went to Pohick Church—Mess^{rs}. Stuart,⁴⁷ Herbert,⁴⁸ Mease,⁴⁹ Doct^r. Jenifer⁵⁰ Mr. Stone⁵¹ & Mr. Digges⁵² dind here—the first three stayed all Night

a stream having the same name, which rises near Fairfax Court House and empties into Pohick Bay, on the Potomac. The village is mainly made up of the mills, a blacksmith's shop, a country store and the few dwellings these enterprises inspired.

⁴⁷ (David) Stuart was a planter in Fairfax County. Beside the family of Stuarts in this county, there was a still more numerous one of Stewarts in Prince William County, Va. Dr. David Stuart married Mrs. Eleanor "Nelly" (Calvert), widow of John Parke Custis and mother of George Washington Parke Custis. In his will, Washington remembers the doctor in the following terms: "To David Stuart I give my large Shaving and dressing table and my telescope."

⁴⁸ William Herbert, a native of Ireland, born 1743, came to America in his youth and finally settled in Alexandria, Va., in 1772. He was energetic and soon became a successful business man and died, regretted, February 24, 1818. His correct habits, intelligence and capacity for the discharge of business soon placed him among the leading merchants of Alexandria. He married the daughter of John Carlyle, esq. In 1798 he was advanced to the presidency of the Bank of Alexandria, in which he had been a director for years. He was on terms of friendly intercourse with Gen. Washington, as were also his wife and children with the entire Mount Vernon household.

⁴⁹ Mr. Mease was possibly from the valley of Virginia, as Washington, when at Berkeley Springs with his family in 1769, bought a horse, saddle and bridle from a planter of this name for £21 10s., as per cashbook. The first name of the gentleman is not given by Washington.

⁵⁰ Dr. Daniel Jenifer, son of Daniel and Elizabeth (Hanson) Jenifer, was born in Kent County, Md., January 25, 1756, and died 1809. Having studied medicine, he settled to practice in St. Marys County. On the breaking out of the war of the Revolution he was commissioned a surgeon in the Continental Line 26th August, 1776, and served until 1782. He ranked as surgeon in the general hospital, and is recorded as a member of the Maryland Society of the Cincinnati. In 1785 he married Sarah, daughter of Dr. James Craik. They had a number of children. (*See Hanson's Old Kent.*)

⁵¹ Thomas Stone, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was born at Pointon Manor, Charles County, Md., 1743, and died in Alexandria County, Va., October 5, 1787. He was descended, through David, from Gov. William Stone, of Maryland, of the Cromwell protectorate period. He received a classical education, largely from private teachers, and then studied law with Thomas Johnson in Annapolis, Md. He began the practice of his profession in Frederick, Md., but in a few years removed to Port Tobacco, where he purchased a plantation. He attended the several courts from there as business required, was an early and zealous patriot in the Revolution. In 1771 he married Margaret, daughter of Dr. Gustavus Brown, of Port Tobacco, a lady of superior ability, who died June, 1787. Mr. Stone was sent to Congress continuously from 1775 to 1779, and again

29. The above Gentⁿ. went away after Breakfast.—

30. Col^o. Pendleton,⁵³ Mr. Henry,⁵⁴ Col^o. Mason⁵⁵ & Mr. Tho^s. Triplet⁵⁶ came in the Even^g. & stayd all Night

31. All the above Gentlemen dind here, after which with Col^o. Pendleton, & Mr. Henry I set out on my journey for Phil^a.⁵⁷ & reachd upp^r. Marlbro.⁵⁸

in 1783. He was on terms of the most friendly relations with Washington, and doubtless often discussed the political situation and needs of the country with him. The draft of the plan of the confederation adopted by the States was largely from his pen. When not in Congress he was sent to the Maryland senate. He was influential in the passage of laws against primogeniture in the descent of estates. He was an eloquent speaker and a profound lawyer. He left no children.

⁵² William Digges, esq., was a wealthy planter on the Potomac, in Maryland. His estate, "Warburton," was in full view from the eastern portico of Mount Vernon. The plantation included the site of Fort Washington, which is nearly due east across the Potomac from the Mount Vernon mansion. Mr. Digges, as was the custom with the planters on the navigable waters of the Potomac, kept his own boats and trained servants, dressed in uniform, accustomed to rowing and sailing them. The "Mount Vernon" and "Warburton" estates indulged in this custom; intercourse was therefore easy, frequent and friendly between the proprietors and their families, of which this diary gives abundant evidence.

⁵³ Col. Edmund Pendleton, statesman, was born in Caroline County, Va., September 9, 1721, and died in Richmond, Va., October 23, 1803. His grandfather, Philip, came from England to Virginia, in 1676. Edmund had in youth but limited educational advantages, but a naturally strong and inquisitive mind, with a determined will and love for accurate knowledge, surmounted these obstacles. An effective schooling was afforded him in the clerk's office of Caroline County, in which he served for several years as the deputy of Benjamin Robinson. In 1744, he was admitted to practice law, and from the start attracted attention, not only as a speaker, but also for his knowledge of law and of history. He had throughout life a wonderful capacity for continued and unremitting attention to business and to study. In 1751, he was made a county justice; in 1752, elected to a seat in the House of Burgesses, and was soon recognized as one of the leading members. In 1764, he was placed upon the committee to memorialize the King on the affairs of the Colony. In 1766, as a lawyer, he gave the opinion that the Stamp Act was void for want of constitutional authority for Parliament to pass it and, therefore, it did not bind the inhabitants of Virginia. He was placed in 1773 on the committee of correspondence of Virginia; made county lieutenant, with the rank of colonel in 1774, and the same year was selected by the convention of Virginia a delegate to the Continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia, Pa., which he attended. In 1775, he was chosen president of the convention of Virginia, which met December of that year. In May, 1776, he drew up the resolution instructing the Virginia delegates to propose the Declaration of Independence. He was at this time president of the Com-

mittee of Safety. His conduct in every public position was characterized by wisdom, moderation and ability. On the organization of the State government, he was chosen speaker of the house, and was selected along with Chancellor Wythe and Thomas Jefferson to revise the laws of Virginia. In 1777, by an unfortunate fall from his horse, he was crippled for life. In 1779, he was made president of the Court of Appeals. In 1788, he presided at the State convention which adopted the Constitution of the United States, which he advocated in a masterly argument.

⁵⁴ Patrick Henry, orator and statesman, was born at "Studley," Hanover County, Va., May 29, 1736, and died at "Red Hill," Charlotte County, Va., June 6, 1799. He was a son of Col. John, of Virginia, and grandson of Alexander Henry, of Aberdeen, Scotland. Patrick was mainly educated in the classics and mathematics by his father and by private teachers. Owing to his father's financial reverses, a college course was not practicable, and at the age of 15 he began a mercantile career, which, however, was not prosperous. He then took seriously to the study of law and was married at the age of 18 to a Miss Shelton, whose father kept a public house. His practice as a lawyer was for a time limited. In 1763, he was employed in what is historically known as the "Parson's Cause." Before the court his force of reasoning and the legal knowledge he evinced, at once placed him in the very front rank of his profession. In 1764, he removed to Louisa Court House, the better to attend to his duties as a lawyer, and the following year was sent to the House of Burgesses. On May 29, 1765, nine days after he qualified, he moved a series of resolutions defining the rights of the colonies and stigmatizing the Stamp Act as unconstitutional and subversive of British and American liberty. This surprisingly bold step at first confounded both the friends of the Colonies and of the Crown and led to much opposition on the part of old leaders. However, after a speech of almost inspired eloquence, which was described by Thomas Jefferson as surpassing anything he had ever heard, five of his resolutions were carried. The whole series was published and speedily acquiesced in by the public. After this, the enforcement of the tax bill was impracticable and he, at once, became a leader. In May, 1773, he, with Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee and Dabney Carr, carried through the House a resolution establishing committees of correspondence which gave unity and cohesion to the patriots of the Revolution in all the Colonies and led to the Continental Congress of 1774. At the convention of Virginia in 1775, he moved that the militia be organized and the colony be put in a state of defense. He was at once put at the head of military affairs in Virginia and commanded the forces that demanded the return of the powder taken from the magazine of Virginia by Governor Dunmore, or its payment in money. In the re-organization of the State, in 1776, he was chosen governor and was one of the great powers in support of the Revolution. He was a member of the convention that adopted the Constitution of the United States but opposed its acceptance unless amended, pointing out its danger and defects with great clearness. Washington tendered him the office of Secretary of State, which he declined. He was elected to the United States Senate but died before taking his seat.

⁵⁵ George Mason, esq., statesman and planter of "Gunston Hall," Fairfax County, Va., was born in 1725, on his father's estate situated in

"Dogue's Neck," known also as "Mason's Neck," then in Stafford County, Va., and died at his residence "Gunston Hall," October 7, 1792. His education, which was good, was mainly received at home from private tutors. He was twice married; first, April, 1750, to Ann, daughter of Col. William Eilbeck, of Charles County, Md., by whom he had five sons and four daughters; second to Sarah, daughter of George Brent, of "Woodstock," Va. Shortly after his first marriage he built "Gunston Hall" on his paternal landed inheritance. He took an active and interested part in church affairs, and in 1765 was elected, together with George Washington, a vestryman of Pohick Church. He was a man of good habits, strong mind, retentive memory and strict attention to business, with a special aptness for system and the formulation of legal documents and bills for enactment of laws. In 1769, he drew up the non-importation resolutions which were presented by Washington in the Virginia assembly and which were unanimously adopted. One of these pledged the Virginia planters to purchase no slaves brought into the country after November 1 of that year. In support of the rights of Virginia, Mr. Mason printed a pamphlet with the title "Extracts from the Virginia Charter, with some remarks upon them." At a meeting of the people of Fairfax County, July 18, 1774, presided over by George Washington, he presented a series of twenty-four resolutions reviewing the whole ground of controversy between Great Britain and the Colonies, recommending a congress of all the Colonies and urging non-intercourse with the mother country. Later, the same principles were fully affirmed by the Continental Congress. He declined a seat in Congress but served on the Committee of Safety, which was charged with the executive government of Virginia. In 1776 he drafted the famous bill of rights and also the constitution of Virginia. Madison said that Mason was the ablest debater he had ever heard. In 1777, he was elected to Congress but declined. Ten years later he was a member of the committee that drafted the Constitution of the United States, but did not sign it because, as he said, it endangered the sovereignty of the States. He was also a member of the committee of the State which adopted the Constitution and again opposed its adoption, but without success. He was elected the first United States Senator from Virginia, but declined. He was referred to by Thomas Jefferson as a man of the first order of wisdom. Certainly George Mason deserves to be remembered as one of the purest of patriots and wisest of statesmen.

⁵⁶ Thomas Triplett, was a planter of Fairfax County, Va. He is believed to have been the son of Francis Triplett, a freeholder and voter in Fairfax County, in 1748. Thomas had a brother, William; and possibly, Philip, of Fairfax County, was also a brother. Thomas owned the fine plantation known as "Round Hill," adjoining Washington's Muddy Hole plantation. The Triplett's frequently joined Washington in a fox chase. Thomas Triplett was one of the vestrymen of Pohick Church, a member of the Masonic lodge to which Washington belonged, and attended with the Alexandria Washington lodge the funeral of the latter.

⁵⁷ Philadelphia, Pa., because of its central location as to the other colonies, as well as on account of the known advocacy of the rights of the provinces by many leading Pennsylvanians in the controversy with the Crown, was selected for the meeting of the Continental Congress, which

Acc^t of the Weather ⁵⁹ in August

1. Exceeding warm.—About 4 oclock a fine Shower of Rain, with thunder w^{ch}. Coold the air a little
2. Tolerably pleasant in the forenoon—but warm afterwards with but little wind
3. Very warm and clear with but little wind
4. Again warm with appearances of Rain but none fell.
5. Warm with moderate Showers in the Afternoon & Night
6. Close warm all day with frequent Shower's.—
7. Very hot with a heavy Rain ab^t. one oclock—still warm afterwards
8. Close & warm with appearances of Rain but none fell.
9. Raining more or less all the Morning.—afternoon warm.
10. Foggy Morning but no Rain.—warm.
- 11th Clear and Warm, with but little Wind & that Southerly.—
12. Much such a day as yesterday.—
13. Cool in the Morning, and Evening with the Wind N^o. Easterly with some Rain at Night.—Midday warm
14. Lowering Morning—but clear & very warm afterwards with very little Wind—
15. No Wind, but clear & exceeding hot.—
16. Again warm with but little wind—in the afternⁿ. a shower or two of Rain
17. Very warm with Rain at Night.—
18. Again warm with but little Wind & that Southerly
19. Warm again and clear, after the Morning which was lowering with some appearances of Rain.—
20. Very warm with little or no Wind.—
21. Much such a day as the former.—
22. Wind very fresh from the S^o. West—otherwise exceeding warm.—

had been resolved upon by the people of the Colonies, and called to meet in that city September 5, 1774.

⁵⁸ Upper Marlboro is the capital of Prince George County, Md. The town is situated on the right bank of the western branch of the Patuxent River about 2 miles above the fork and 20 miles southwest of Annapolis, on the main road from lower Maryland.

⁵⁹ It was Washington's habit for many years to note briefly, in a general way, in his diary, the condition of the weather for each day. The comments on the weather, during some years, are made in the same book but separately as to heading, thus repeating dates for this purpose in his journal of daily events and occurrences as is shown here.

23. Lowering in the Morning with fine Showers afterwards—wind Northerly & a little Cool—

24. Misting all day—& sometimes Rain—in the Evening a settled Rain—Wind at N^o. East but not much of it

25. Clouds in the Morning, but clear afterwards—Wind at No. West.—

26. Clear and very pleasant wind at N^o. West—

27. Pleasant & clear with but little wind

28. Clear but turning warm wind Southerly

29. Warm & clear—Wind Southerly

30. Very warm—Wind in the same place tho' not much of it

Aug^t. 31. Exceeding hot with very little Wind & that South-erly.—

Where, how, or with whom, my time—is Spent.

Sept^r. 1 Breakfasted at Queen Anne⁶⁰—Dined in Annapolis,⁶¹ & lodged at Rock Hall.—⁶²

2. Din'd at Rock Hall (waiting for my Horses)⁶³ & lodg'd at New Town⁶⁴ on Chester⁶⁵

⁶⁰Queen Anne was a crossroad hamlet, in Prince George County, Md., of colonial days, which did not grow into any importance. It is situated near the Patuxent River, on the main road from Georgetown to Annapolis, about 25 miles from the former and 12 miles from the latter. It appeared in Cary's map of 1822, and possibly later, but is now without a post-office or a place on the Gazette.

⁶¹Annapolis, originally known as Anne Arundel town; later, as "Port of Annapolis," the capital of the State of Maryland since 1694, is situated on the Chesapeake Bay, at the mouth of the Severn River. Like its sister state capital at Williamsburg, it was early noted for its culture, wealth and fashion, and for having established institutions of learning for the youth of the provinces. Virginia, to meet the requirements of her settlements, changed the location of her capital. Maryland has persisted in maintaining her old seat notwithstanding the developments of the western counties. The improved methods of transportation have to some extent reconciled her citizens to the location. She has much reason to be proud of her history.

⁶²"Rock Hall" is situated on the left shore of the Chesapeake Bay, between Swan Point and the mouth of Chester River, in Kent County, Md. Owing to a protected cove at a favorable landing point, it was made the upper or northern terminus of the Annapolis Packet Ferry. A fairly good hotel was also kept at the ferry. From here there was a well-traveled road through Chestertown, by the head of Sassafras Creek, to New Castle, in the State of Delaware. The Rock Hall farm, in 1774, was owned by Richard Spencer, who was a grandson of James Spencer, of Spencer Hall, on Eastern Neck Island, Kent County, Md. A part of Rock Hall was sold to James Ringgold, of Huntingfield, in 1779, with

3. Breakfasted at Down's⁶⁶.—Dined at the Buck Tavern (Carsons)⁶⁷ & lodg'd at Newcastle.⁶⁸

the condition that no other ferry should ever be established to trench upon the ground of the existing one. The Rock Hall ferry was maintained up to about 1846, and the old wharves are still visible.

⁶³ Washington took two horses and a servant with him to Philadelphia (see *cash book of expenses*); but he does not give the name of the servant.

⁶⁴ New Town, on the Chester, was the original name of the present Chestertown. It is 13 miles from Rock Hall. The main road between the places is practically on the same site now that it was when traveled by Washington. The town was laid out by authority of an act of Maryland, passed in 1706, and was named in the law "New-Town." Its charter was revised in 1780, and the name Chestertown given to it. The tavern at which Washington and the other delegates who went to the Continental Congress stopped in 1774 is still standing. It occupies the corner of Cannon and Prince streets, is now owned by Charles T. Westcott, and is changed so as to make two private residences. It has undergone some repairs and the external appearance is slightly altered, but not so the interior. The title of the property, in 1774, was in the name of Nathaniel Hynson. It was, at the time, a notably fine hotel with a large ballroom, elaborately paneled, and with a gallery at one end for musicians. Some of the moldings on mantels and casings show traces of fine carving. This is the same house in which tradition says Charles Wilson Peale, the artist, was born while his father was a teacher in the old free school at Chestertown. The town was at that time a port of entry with a custom-house, which is still standing. The merchants of the town conducted a very considerable trade. Private capital aided by the government of Maryland conducted a large armory here during the Revolutionary war.

⁶⁵ Chester River is a deep, broad, navigable stream, without marshes, making up from the eastern shore out of the Chesapeake Bay in a northeasterly direction nearly to the dividing line between the States of Maryland and Delaware. This river separates and is the boundary between Kent and Queen Anne counties, and is perhaps at present the most noted breeding grounds of the famous diamond-backed terrapin. Chestertown, situated on the right bank of this river, is the capital of Kent County.

⁶⁶ A Mr. Downs was the proprietor of a tavern at Downs' crossroads about 16 miles from Newtown, now Chestertown, on the main road to New Castle, Del., and Philadelphia. It was near the point now known as Galena, near the Sassafra River. The name of Downs is frequently met with in the early records of Kent County. The old residents of Galena have a tradition that Gen. Washington had, on several occasions, patronized a public house in that place when passing.

⁶⁷ Carson's "Buck Tavern" was probably at a point now the thriving village of Middletown in Delaware, and about 18 miles southwest of New Castle.

⁶⁸ New Castle, in New Castle County, Del., is situated on the right bank of the Delaware River, about 6 miles south of Wilmington, and 34 from Philadelphia. It is the oldest town on the river, having been founded by the Swedes as early as 1627.

4. Breakfasted at Christeen Ferry⁶⁹ Dined at Chester—⁷⁰ & lodged at Doct^r. Shippens's ⁷¹ In Phil^a. after Supping at y^e New Tavern.⁷²

⁶⁹ Christiana Ferry:—It is probable that the site of this ferry is now included within the boundary of the city of Wilmington, Del.

⁷⁰ Chester, originally called Upland, is the capital of Delaware County, Pa. It is situated on the right bank of the Delaware river, 15 miles below Philadelphia. The town is an old one and enjoys the distinction of having had the first legislature of Pennsylvania to meet in it shortly after Wm. Penn's arrival. It has of late years become an important manufacturing center, and is rapidly becoming a sort of annex to the city of Philadelphia.

⁷¹ William Shippen, M. D., the younger, was born in Philadelphia, October 21, 1736, and died in Germantown, Pa., July 11, 1808. He was a graduate of Princeton in 1754, and shortly after began the study of medicine with his father. He, however, completed his studies under Drs. Wm. and John Hunter of London, and at the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated M. D. in 1761. Returning to Philadelphia in 1762 he began the practice of his profession. November 16, 1762, he opened a systematic course of lectures on anatomy, the first in America. They were well patronized and pointed the way to the founding of a medical college which, in 1765, was engrafted upon the College of Philadelphia. Dr. Shippen was elected professor of anatomy and surgery September 23, 1765. He was thoroughly American in his principles and a patriot in the Revolution. On the 15th of July, 1776, he was appointed chief physician of the Flying Camp of the Continental army. On the 11th of April he was commissioned director-general of all the military hospitals for the armies of the United States. Although chosen to this position without a dissenting voice, the summary displacement of Surgeon-General John Morgan to give him the place, without charge or knowledge of the movement to the incumbent aroused suspicion of injustice or at least hasty action on the part of Congress which, in time, reacted unfavorably to Dr. Shippen, and finally led to his resignation January 3, 1781. However, while filling the position, its duties were ably performed. On the fusion of the College of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania, he was continued a member of the faculty until 1806 and remained one of the staff physicians to the Pennsylvania Hospital until 1802. He was for more than forty years a member of the Philosophical Society. His acquaintance with Gen. Washington began in 1756 and continued cordial and warm to the close of his life. John Adams, in his diary of September 20, says Col. R. H. Lee lodged at Dr. Shippen's. It may be that Gen. Washington also continued to lodge there throughout the sitting of Congress.

⁷² "New Tavern" was so named because it was built as recently as 1770, but was more properly and generally known as "The City Tavern." It was situated on South Second, near Walnut street. For many years it remained the largest hotel in the city, and the gathering place for the members of the Continental Congress. It was from this house on the 5th of September, 1774, says John Adams in his diary, that "At 10 o'clock the

5. Breakfasted and Dined at Doct^r. Shippen's—Spent y^e Even^g at Tavern

6. Dined at the New Tavern—after being in Congress⁷³ all day.

7. Dined at Mr. Pleasants⁷⁴ and spent the Evening in a Club⁷⁵ at the New Tavern.—

delegates all met at the City Tavern, and walked to Carpenter's Hall." Within an hour afterwards the First Continental Congress was successfully organized by the selection of Peyton Randolph as president, and Charles Thomson as secretary.

⁷³This was a congress of delegates fresh from the people and untrammelled by instructions. The advisableness of a confederated union between all the English colonies for their better protection was early felt by the leading minds in America. Some such conference and union had been recommended in New England as early as 1643 and again by William Penn in 1696-'97. In 1698 Charles D' Avenant made similar propositions as did others at different dates. Daniel Cox, in 1722, laid his scheme for the settlement and security of New Jersey and proposed plans for a union. Lord Holderness, the English secretary, even went so far in 1753 as to recommend the assemblies of the several colonies to send committees to a general convention to meet at Albany, N. Y., to confer with each other and to renew treaties with the Indians, etc. A convention thus constituted and sanctioned by the ministry actually met at Albany on the 19th of June, 1754. Perhaps the most noteworthy thing that they did, and which was not suggested in the call, was the consideration of the importance of a permanent union among the colonies and the formulation of a plan by a committee of one from each province reported, for a union with a council of 48 members, selected from the several colonies, with a president at their head, to have the general management of civil and military affairs in America.

The conception and the bringing into existence of the Continental Congress in 1774 was almost a spontaneous aspiration and desire of the people of these several colonies. It derived its powers and authority directly from the people in free hustings, and town mass meetings, despite crown prerogatives, or authority from governors, legislatures, or military commanders. A subscription was raised in the Virginia convention to cover the expenses of the delegates to be sent to Philadelphia, to which Washington contributed £100. It is possible that this was returned, as the expenses of the delegates were assumed by the assembly of Virginia. Before adjourning the convention they provided for another Congress to meet in May, 1775. The future Congress was to be composed of delegates from the provincial assemblies, and not directly from the people as was the first.

⁷⁴Samuel Pleasants, a relative of the well-known Pleasants family of Virginia, who was in religious belief of the Society of Friends. A son of Samuel Pleasants, of the same name, removed to Richmond, Va., and for some years published there a newspaper called *The Argus*. His descendants still reside in Richmond.

8. Dined at Mr. And^w. Allan's,⁷⁶ & spent the Evening in my own Lodgings ⁷⁷

9. Dined at Mr. Tilghman's ⁷⁸ & spent the Evening at home (at my Lodg^{gs}).

⁷⁵ In the early times in America a club or company was frequently improvised on short notice, by individuals brought together at ordinaries, taverns and coffee houses for a dinner, a supper, or a bowl of punch. It is understood that the term was also applied to a mixed drink, furnished in a large bowl which was denominated "The Club" by the assembly, whether paid for by one or jointly, by the several persons partaking, whether present by accident or by invitation. It is, however, not entirely clear to the writer whether any of these definitions explains the significance of the term "the governor's club," who, it is inferred, did not even sympathize with the Continental Congress, and what its existence portended.

⁷⁶ Andrew Allan, esq., an eminent lawyer of Philadelphia, was born in that city in 1740, and died in London, England, March 7, 1825. He was the son of Chief-Justice Allan. After receiving a superior education he studied law with his father and entered upon a good practice in his native city. In 1776 he was appointed attorney-general of Pennsylvania. His intelligence and progressive spirit placed him among the foremost citizens in every enterprise, and when a committee of safety in Philadelphia was chosen, he was among the members. He was one of three appointed by the colony to go to New York and advise with the committee of safety in that colony and with Gen. Lee in regard to the defense of that city. He was apparently a strong advocate of all the Congressional measures until the British army possessed themselves of the city of New York. Then he lost courage, entered the British lines, took the oath of allegiance to the King, renouncing those he had taken to Congress, and went to England. His property in Pennsylvania was confiscated, but he was compensated for his loyalty to the crown and his losses in America by grants from the British Government and an annual pension of £400.

⁷⁷ It is quite possible that Washington may have secured lodging elsewhere after a stay of a few days with his friend Dr. Shippen. If this surmise be correct, the diary does not disclose where or with whom he secured apartments. Adams, in his diary, says Lee lodged at Shippen's, which gives color to the possibility that Washington also continued at Dr. Shippen's, and may have paid for his accommodations. As the term lodging is used, it implies a hired room.

⁷⁸ James Tilghman, secretary of the land office of Pennsylvania, 1765-1775, was born at the Hermitage, the family seat, in Queen Anne County, Md., December 6, 1716, and died in Chestertown, Md., August 24, 1793. After receiving a classical education he studied law and for a time practiced at the Annapolis bar, but in 1760 he removed to Philadelphia, Pa., to practice his profession. In 1765 John Penn, governor of Pennsylvania, appointed him secretary of the land office, with a salary of £300 and some office fees; he held this position down to the Revolution. In 1767 he became a member of the Provincial Council, serving until the exigencies of the Revolution prevented the Council sitting. At first he was liberal in

10. Dined at Mr. Rich^d. Penn's⁷⁹
11. Dined at Mr. Griffen's⁸⁰
12. Dined at Mr. James Allan's⁸¹

his views of the political questions discussed between the British Government and the colonies, but finally came to be regarded as a loyalist. On the approach of the British army to Philadelphia, in 1777, he was arrested and paroled with leave to visit his friends in Maryland and to report in Philadelphia by a certain date. Before the time elapsed the city was in the possession of the British. In May, 1778, he was discharged from parole. Washington and the whole family of Tilghmans were on terms of friendship.

⁷⁹ Richard Penn, lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania, was born in England 1735, and died there May 27, 1811. He was a student for some time at St. John's College, Cambridge, entering for the legal profession, but did attain to any degrees. In 1763 he came to Pennsylvania with his brother John, and January 12, 1764, qualified as a councilor. He revisited England for a couple of years, and was while there appointed by his uncle and brother lieutenant-governor, returning the second time October 16, 1771. By his liberal course and attention to duty he became very popular with all the business interests of this colony. He and his brother John had a dispute as to the construction of his father's will. In 1773 he was superseded in office by John Penn. Both the Penns favored concessions from the British Government, as relating to the oppressive acts complained of by the colonies, and joined in the petition of 1775 to the King, which Mr. R. Penn carried with him to England. He was examined by the House of Lords November 7, 1775, and gave testimony that he believed the colonies would resist the home Government by force unless an accommodation should be reached. He was later a member of Parliament from 1796 to 1806. He married a Miss Mary Masters, an heiress of Pennsylvania. In advanced life, however, he became very poor. He revisited Pennsylvania in 1808 for the last time.

⁸⁰ — Griffen. No data.

⁸¹ James Allan, esq., of Philadelphia, Pa., the third son of Chief Justice William Allan of Pennsylvania, was born in that State 1742, and died 1798. James graduated from the College of Pennsylvania in 1759, after which he studied law with Edward Shippen, and then spent three years at the Temple, in London. Returning to Philadelphia he began to practice at the bar, and was, in 1767, elected a member of common council. In 1776 he was sent to the State assembly from Northampton County. James Allan began a diary in 1776, which he continued, with but few interruptions, to the time of his death, in 1798. He married, in 1768, Elizabeth, only child of John Lawrence. His diary referred to may be seen in Vol. LX of the Pennsylvania Magazine of History. Under date of May 19, 1773, we find the following entry: "Gov. Eden and Col. Washington are in town, come to the races. Water's horse, Herod, won the £100 yesterday & Mr. Delaney's Sultana £50 today. The town is very gay & invitations frequent. I asked Gov. Eden and Col. Washington to dinner, but they are engaged during their stay." Governor owned one of the horses that ran the first day of the races. It, however, came in second. The winning horse was owned by Israel Waters, and was known by the name of "King Herod."

13. Dined at Mr. Tho^s. Mifflin's⁸²

Sep^r. 14. Rid over the Province Island.⁸³ & dind at Mr. W^m. Hamiltons⁸⁴

⁸² Thomas Mifflin, major-general in the Revolution, was born in Philadelphia in 1744, and died in Lancaster, Pa., January 20, 1800. He was a graduate of the College of Philadelphia in 1750. Shortly after that he entered a counting house in which his brother was a partner. In 1765 he traveled in Europe, and on his return was taken into the firm. He had a popular manner, with a taste for public life, and in 1772 he was sent to the legislature. In 1774 he was a delegate to the Continental Congress. On the receipt of the news of the fight at Lexington in a town mass meeting he publicly advocated resolute action. When troops were enlisted, he assisted in organizing and drilling them, and was made major of the First Regiment. He was born and reared a Quaker, and, of course, this conduct severed his church connection. Washington, on assuming command of the Continental army, chose him as his first aide-de-camp, and in that rank he accompanied the General to Cambridge. In July, 1775, he was made quartermaster-general. After the evacuation of Boston, by the British, he was made, August 19, 1776, a brigadier-general, and assigned to the command of a part of the Pennsylvania troops. He was a man of prompt action, courage and perseverance. In the retreat from Long Island he commanded the rear guard. Later, in compliance to the resolutions of Congress, he resumed the duties of quartermaster-general. In November he was sent by Washington to Congress to represent the critical condition of the army. In January, 1777, he made a tour of the principal towns of Pennsylvania, and by his stirring oratory aroused a spirit among the people to enter the army. For a time he shared the feeling that Washington was too slow. In 1777 he was placed by Congress on the Board of War, but was retired in 1778. It was charged that the suffering at Valley Forge was aggravated by the inefficiency of the Quartermaster's Department, but this lacked proof. After the achievement of independence he entered Congress, and was president of that body when Washington resigned his commission, and replied to him in appropriate and eloquent terms. In 1787 he was a member of the convention that drafted the Constitution of the United States. In 1789 he was elected a member of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, and succeeded to its presidency. When the constitution of Pennsylvania was adopted, he was elected her first governor under it.

⁸³ Province Island was once known as "Fishers Island." It contained 342 acres, and was, on account of its isolation, convenience and suitability for a quarantine hospital and pest-house purposes, bought by the province of Pennsylvania in 1742 for the sum of £1,700. The island is on the southwest side of the Schuylkill River, near its mouth. After this purchase the island was known as "Province Island," but since the Revolution and the adoption of the State constitution, it has been named as "State Island." The purpose of Washington's visit is not disclosed; whether it was to see the buildings erected by the province for the care of the sick of contagious diseases, arriving by sea, or whether it was to inspect the gardens and farming conducted there on the part of the island

15. Dined at my Lodgings

16. Dined at the State House⁸⁵ at an Entertainment given by the City to the Members of the Congress.—

17. Dined at Mr. Dickinsons⁸⁶ about 2 Miles from Town

not then required for hospital purposes, and which was rented and cultivated as a truck garden, is left to speculation.

⁸⁴William Hamilton, esq., of Philadelphia, was the son of the second Andrew Hamilton, and inherited from him "The Woodlands," on the Schuylkill, now West Philadelphia. He was a man of large wealth in well-located real estate near the cities of Lancaster and Philadelphia. He was a man of cultivated tastes, fond of botany, and took pleasure in ornamental gardening. He built himself an elegant residence shortly before the Revolution. He was one of the earliest patrons of art in the country, and collected many fine pictures. During the progress of the Revolution he was suspected of having become inimical to the cause of the colonies, and was arrested and tried, but acquitted. He died at "The Woodlands" in 1824. His highly cultivated and beautiful farm greatly interested Washington. He never married.

⁸⁵The "State House," now more widely known as "Independence Hall," is owned by the corporation of the city of Philadelphia, and is one of the most revered Colonial landmarks in our country. It was designed on a liberal scale, its erection begun in 1729, and completed in 1735. When this enterprise was projected only about half the square—the Chestnut street front had been secured to the province, but in 1750 the remainder of the square fronting on Walnut street was bought. The building was at first used for the various offices of the Government, but from 1747 it was used also for the meetings of the State assembly, until the capital of Pennsylvania was established at Harrisburg (1812). In 1816 the legislature of Pennsylvania authorized the sale of the State House and the square of ground to the city corporation of Philadelphia for public purposes for \$70,000. It is inferred that, even prior to this, either the city, or her influential citizens, had some voice in the control and use to which the building might at times be put, from the fact that public dinners had been given in it by the city to the members of this Congress. But it had also been used by the Provincial Government to give banquets in on special occasions, prior to this instance. In 1746 Governor Thomas gave a dinner in it to 200 persons on the occasion of the news of the Pretender's defeat. In 1752 Governor Hamilton gave a ball in the State House and a supper in the long gallery. Governor Morris, in 1754, had at the State House a ball in the evening and a supper in the long gallery. So that there were many precedents for this courtesy to the members of Congress.

⁸⁶John Dickinson, statesman, was born in Maryland November 13, 1732, and died in Wilmington, Del., February 14, 1808. He was the son of Samuel Dickinson, who removed from Maryland to Delaware and became a chief justice of Kent County in that State, dying there in 1760, aged 71. John, after receiving a classical education at the Friends Academy, studied law with John Molland, esq., in Philadelphia, and then for three years at the Temple, in London; returning to Philadelphia, he was admitted to the bar and practiced with success. In 1764 he was sent to the

Public offices and the sittings of the legislature were moved to Lancaster in 1799 when they were continued until the

18. Dined at Mr. Hills⁸⁷ about 6 Miles from Town.

19. Rid out in the Morning dined at Mr. Ross's⁸⁸

Pennsylvania assembly, and in 1765 to the Colonial Congress which met in New York. This year he began to write against the Colonial policy of the British Government. His celebrated "Farmer's Letters" appeared in 1767. He was chosen a member of the first Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia in 1774, while that body was in session. It was generally understood that he was the author of several of the State papers issued by that body, among which was the "Address to the inhabitants of Quebec," the first petition to the King, etc., the "Address to the Armies," etc. In June, 1776, he opposed the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, because he doubted the wisdom of the measure until terms of confederation and foreign assistance were assured. When the proposition came up for a vote he absented himself; but he proved his patriotism by enlisting as a private in the Army and serving until the end of his enlistment. He again served in the Army in 1777, and in October of that year was commissioned brigadier-general. In 1779, he was elected to Congress from Delaware, and in May wrote an "Address to the States." In 1780, he was elected a member of the Delaware assembly, and the following year was chosen president of the State. From 1782 to 1785 he filled the same office in Pennsylvania, and in 1787 served as a member of the convention from Delaware that framed the Federal Constitution. In 1788 he wrote nine letters under the signature of "Fabius," in favor of the Constitution. In 1797 he wrote a series of fourteen letters to promote a friendly feeling toward France. In 1783 he was largely influential in founding and endowing Dickinson College, at Carlisle, Pa. He was a profound scholar in political science and a fervid and logical writer. In 1770 he married Mary Norris, of "Fair Hill," at which place he resided when Washington visited him. He was a liberal entertainer, and his society was courted by the leading patriots of his day.

⁸⁷ Mr. Hill resided 6 miles from the city of Philadelphia. His wife was the daughter of Mr. Samuel Meredith.

⁸⁸ John Ross, lawyer and merchant, of Philadelphia, Pa., was born in County Ross, Scotland, January 29, 1725, and died in Philadelphia, Pa., in March, 1800. In his youth he was placed in a commercial house in Perth, Scotland, where he acquired a good knowledge of business. He came to Philadelphia in 1763, well versed in the best methods for the transaction of an extensive commercial business, and became a shipping merchant and an importing agent. At the very beginning of the difficulties with the mother country he aligned himself with the friends of the Colonies, and was a signer of the non-importation agreement of 1765. He presided at a public meeting of the mechanics and traders, June 9, 1774, to consider a letter from the artificers of New York, and was on the committee to reply to the same. He was shortly after appointed master of musters in the Pennsylvania navy, September 16, 1775, which office he resigned, 1776, on account of his own private business. In May, 1776, he was employed by the Committee of Commerce in Congress to purchase clothes, arms and powder for the use of the Army. To engage proper agents in France and elsewhere he went to Europe in 1776, and at other times. In his zeal during the pro-

20. Dined with Mr. Fisher the Mayor.⁸⁹
21. Dined with Mr. James Mease⁹⁰
22. Dined with Mr. Chew the Chief Justice.—⁹¹

gress of the war, he pledged his credit for £20,000 more than was supplied to him by Congress, much to his embarrassment and subsequent loss. He was intelligent and cordial in his disposition, and on terms of intimacy with Franklin, Robert Morris and the leading political characters of the times. Washington's diary shows that he visited and dined at his country place, "The Grange," on several occasions.

⁸⁹ W. Fisher was mayor of Philadelphia, 1772-'74

⁹⁰ John Mease, instead of James, it is surmised, was the gentleman with whom Gen. Washington dined. If this be the case, he was born in Straban, Ireland, in 1746. He was a zealous patriot and died in Philadelphia in 1826. He was brought to America in 1754, grew with Philadelphia, and became one of her most prominent shipping merchants. He was one of the organizers and original members of the first troop of city cavalry, one of the corps that crossed the Delaware under Gen. Washington, on December 25, 1779, and was one of five who were detailed to keep alive the camp fires on the line fronting the Army to cover any suspicion of a movement, while the Americans marched to attack the rear guard of the British, at Princeton. Mease served during the entire war, suffering thereby great loss of property. In 1780, when the Government was in great strait to support the Army, he subscribed £4,000. He was one of the admiralty surveyors of the Port of Philadelphia.

⁹¹ Benjamin Chew, jurist, was born at West River, Anne Arundel County, Md., November 29, 1722, and died in Philadelphia, January 20, 1810. He was the son of the Quaker judge, Samuel Chew, chief justice of New Castle, Del. Benjamin studied law with Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, and later at the Temple, in London. Returning to Delaware, he was admitted to the bar in 1743, and in 1745 removed to the city of Philadelphia. In 1755 he was made receiver and served until 1772. He also held the office of register of wills and attorney-general, which he resigned in 1766. In 1774 he became chief justice of Pennsylvania. He was for several years speaker of the house of delegates for the three lower counties in Delaware. At the opening of the Revolution, both parties claimed him, but after the Declaration of Independence, he openly opposed the Patriots, and declining to give a parole in 1777, was sent to prison at Fredericksburg, Va. He, however, never appears to have given aid to the enemy. In 1790 he was appointed chief justice of the high court of errors and appeals of Pennsylvania, which he held until 1806, when the court was abolished. His stone house at Germantown became historic by its position on the field of the battle of Germantown in 1777. He was twice married; first to Mary, daughter of Samuel Galloway, of Maryland; second, to a daughter of Mr. Oswald. He entertained sumptuously in 1774 at his house in Third street, Philadelphia. The friendly intercourse between him and Washington was continued after the Revolution. Of this dinner at Mr. Chew's, John Adams in his diary has the following record: "Dined with Mr. Chew, chief justice of the provinces, with all the gentlemen from Virginia, Dr. Shippen, Mr. Tilghman, and many others. We were shown into

23. Dined with Mr. Joseph Pemberton.⁹²

24. Dined with Mr. Tho^s. Willing⁹³ and spent y^e Even^g at y^e City Tavern

Sept^r. 25. Went to the Quaker Meeting⁹⁴ in the Forenoon & St. Peters⁹⁵ in the Afternoon—Din'd at my lodgings

a grand entry and staircase, and into an elegant and most magnificent chamber, until dinner. About four o'clock we were called down to dinner. The furniture was all rich. Turtle and every other thing, flummery, jellies, sweetmeats, of twenty sorts, trifles, whipped syllabubs, floating islands, fools, &c., and then a dessert of fruits, almonds, pears, peaches. Wines most excellent and admirable. I drank Madeira at a great rate, and found no inconvenience."

⁹² Joseph Pemberton, a prominent member of the Society of Friends.

⁹³ Thomas Willing, lawyer and merchant, was born in Philadelphia December 19, 1731, and died there January 19, 1821. He was well educated in England and studied law at the Temple, London. In 1764 he became the head of the firm of Willing & Norris, the largest and most enterprising then in our country. This partnership continued until 1793. During the Revolution the firm was the agents of Congress for supplying naval and military stores. In 1755 Mr. Willing served as a member of the common council of Philadelphia, and in 1759 was an alderman, but did not accept until October, 1760. He was made, in 1761, an associate justice of Common Pleas, Quarter Session, and Orphans' Court. In 1763 he was elected by the common council mayor of the city. From 1767 to 1774 he was associate justice of the Supreme Court. He was a leader in opposition to the "Stamp Act" and one of the committee to enforce the non-importation agreement of 1765. June, 1774, he presided at a mass meeting to take action on the question of a general congress of all the colonies and was on the committee of correspondence. July 15, 1774, he presided at a patriotic meeting at Carpenter's Hall. He was placed on the committee of safety, and in 1775 was elected to the assembly on the "Moderate Men's" ticket, and the following year was elected a member of Congress to succeed Joseph Galloway. In Congress he voted against Richard Henry Lee's preliminary resolutions and the Declaration of Independence, because he deemed this action on the part of Congress unnecessary and premature. When the British took possession of Philadelphia, he remained during their occupation and held conference with Lord Howe. Later and at a critical period, in 1780, he, with other wealthy citizens of Philadelphia, subscribed £260,000 towards the foundation of the Pennsylvania Bank and to procure the necessary supplies for the Army. His own subscription to the fund was £5,000. In 1781, on the formation of the Bank of North America, he was chosen its president and continued to serve until 1792. He was also the first president of the Bank of the United States, established in 1791. He was in all his business relations a man of clear perceptions, great energy and high integrity.

⁹⁴ Quaker meeting or Friends' house of worship stood at the southwest corner of Second and High streets. It was built in 1695, on ground given to the Society for the purpose, by George Fox, the founder of the

26. Dined at the old Doctr. Shippens⁹⁶ & went to the Hospital⁹⁷

27. Dined at the Tavern with the Virga. Gent^a.⁹⁸ &c^a.

28. Dined at Mr. Edward Shippens—⁹⁹ spent the aftern^a. with the Boston Gent^a.¹⁰⁰

“Society of Friends.” In the progress of time, the first structure proving too small to accommodate the members, it was taken down, and in 1755 a larger one erected on the site. The new “meeting house” was often spoken of as “the great meeting house.” It is most probable that this was the one visited by Washington.

⁹⁶ St. Peter's Episcopal church is at the southwest corner of Third and Pine streets. It was originally a branch or offshoot from Christ church, Philadelphia, and for some years was under the charge of the Rev. Jacob Duché, the brilliant parson who, in a persuasive letter to Gen. Washington, endeavored to convince him that it was a christian and patriotic duty for him to abandon the American armed contest with Great Britain.

⁹⁵ William Shippen, sr., physician, was born in Philadelphia, October 1, 1712, and died at Germantown, November 4, 1801. He was the son of Joseph and grandson of Edward Shippen, who was mayor of Philadelphia in 1701. William, early in life, applied himself to the study of medicine, for the practice of which he developed a great aptitude, to the benefit of the community in which he lived and by which he acquired fame and fortune. While devoted to his profession, he was public spirited and closely identified himself with the founding of several of the worthy institutions which have made Philadelphia so notable among the cities of our country. His assistance and influence in the organization of the Pennsylvania Hospital was great, and he labored as an attending physician in it until 1787. He was on the first board of trustees of the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society and one of its esteemed vice-presidents. He was for nearly 60 years a member of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, and for half this time a trustee of Princeton College. In 1778 he was chosen by the Pennsylvania assembly a member of the Continental Congress, and was reelected in 1779. Through the inheritance of a good constitution, his regular and correct habits, he maintained, to an advanced age, a remarkable degree of physical vigor.

⁹⁷ Pennsylvania Hospital was founded on the square between Eighth and Ninth and Spruce and Pine streets. The cornerstone of the main building was laid in 1755. It was practically the pioneer hospital of any great pretensions in the colonies, and had the effect of centering in Philadelphia the leading medical schools of the country for more than a century.

⁹⁸ The Virginia delegates to the first Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia September 5, 1774, were, doubtless, the gentlemen referred to. They were the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, esq., Col. George Washington, Richard Bland, esq., Benjamin Harrison, esq., and Edmund Pendleton, esq.

⁹⁹ Edward Shippen, esq., was the second son of Edward, an eminent jurist of Philadelphia. He was born in that city February 16, 1729, and

29. Dined at Mr. Allan's and went to the Ball in the afternⁿ.¹⁰¹

30. Dined at Doctr. Cadwalladers.¹⁰²

An Acc^t. of the Weather in Sept.

Sept. 1 Exceeding Hot, with but little wind from the Southward—In the Night Rain (where I was)

died there April 16, 1806. He read law with Tench Francis, and going to England continued the study at the Middle Temple in London. Returning to America, he entered upon this practice in his native city. On the 22d of November, 1752, he was appointed judge of the Vice Admiralty Court, and in 1762 was made prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, which office he held down to the Revolution. He became a member of the Provincial Council in 1770 and served continuously for five years. His sympathies in the Colonial struggle for independence was, doubtless, with the mother country. He was, however, a man of such high character that his parole was taken by the Government to give neither succor nor information to the enemy. He remained in Philadelphia during its occupancy by the British army, but his prudence was such as to avoid giving offense. His popularity may be inferred by the fact that in 1784 he was appointed presiding judge of the court of Common Pleas, and in September of the same year one of the judges of the High Court of Errors and Appeals, which office he retained until 1799. Besides these official positions he held others of a judicial character, discharging all trusts with ability, including that of Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. A fine portrait of Judge Shippen hangs in the "Corcoran Art Gallery" in Washington, D. C. His daughter Margaret married Benedict Arnold and died in London in 1804.

¹⁰⁰ "Boston Gentlemen" refers, doubtless, to the members from Massachusetts of the Continental Congress. Those in attendance from that State in 1774 were all from the city of Boston or its vicinity, namely, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, and Robert Treat Paine. John Adams, in his diary, under this date, made the following entry: "Spent the evening at home with Col. Lee and Col. Washington, and Dr. Shippen, who came in to consult with us." John Hancock's first appearance was in the Second Congress, which met May, 1775.

¹⁰¹ Balls and assemblies for dancing have been popular social institutions from remote times, and in our Colonial days were especially so in the larger towns and particularly at the seats of Government. It is presumed that the dance and the high social characters who patronize well-regulated balls will, everywhere and in all ages, give them a charm for cultivated society. It will be seen by this reference that the ball was opened in the afternoon, which was a usual practice before the Revolution.

¹⁰² Dr. Thomas Cadwallader was born in Philadelphia in 1707 and died in that city in 1779. He studied medicine with Dr. John Jones, then residing in Philadelphia. For the further pursuance of medical knowledge he went to London and Edinburgh for their college and hospital advantages. Returning to America, he began to practice in his native city. On

2. Again very warm with but little wind—& that Southerly
In the Night Rain—

3. Cloudy & Cool, wind fresh from the Northward.

4—Again Cloudy & Cool Wind about N°. East & fresh.

5. Cloudy all day & now and then Misting—Wind at N°. E^t.—

6. Clear & pleasant with but little Wind

7. Clear and Warm with but little wind & that Southerly

8. Again Warm & clear, wind in the same place.—

9. Warm & close, weather lowering, & in the afternoon Rain, tho little of it

10 Clear & cool, Wind Westwardly & tolerably fresh.—

11 Pleasant, but growing warmer, there being but little wind—

12. Warmer than yesterday and clear.—

Sep^r. 13th. lowering most part of the day—with a little Rain in the Evening.—

14. Wind a little fresh from the Northward & day clear & somewhat Cooler—

15. A little lowering & dull in the forenoon—but cool

16. Rather warm being clear with little wind

17. Warm & clear with but little wind & that Southerly

18. Warm in the forenoon with a brisk Southwest wind—in the afternoon Rain.—

19. Pleasant, and clear with but little Wind

20. Very pleasant and clear as also a little Cool.—

21. Much such a day as yesterday.—

22. Ditto—Ditto.

Sep^r. 23 Clear but Pleas^t. and Cool.—Wind Northerly

the opening of the Pennsylvania Hospital, he was chosen one of the attending physicians, and was retained upon its staff until his death. He studied anatomy under the eminent Prof. Cheseldon, attained a high degree of proficiency in dissection, and made some demonstrations on the subject for the elder Dr. Shippen, and for the benefit of other physicians who had not had the advantages that the schools of Europe afforded. He was an influential member of the American Philosophical Society and of the College of Philadelphia. As early as 1745 he published an "Essay on the Iliac Passion," and contributed to the press other articles of value on medical subjects. He was gentle in his manners, attentive to his patients, enjoyed to an exceptional degree the confidence and respect of the community, and was noted for benevolence and his cheerful disposition. In 1765 he was appointed to the Provincial Council, and held numerous positions of honor and trust.

24. Clear and pleasant but somewhat cool wind in the same Quarter

25. Very pleasant and somewhat, there being no Wind

26. Clear and pleasant but rather warm there being no Wind

27. Again clear and warm with but little or no wind

28. Very warm—foggy in the Morning but clear after^{ds}

29. Very warm again, being clear with no wind.

30. Still warm with some appearances of Rain

Where, how, or with whom my time is Spent.

Oct^r. 1st. At y^e Congress till 3 ocl: Din'd with M^r. Hamilton¹⁰³ at Bush Hill.

2. Went to Christ Church¹⁰⁴ & dined at y^e New Tavern.

¹⁰³ James Hamilton, esqr., of "Bush Hill," Philadelphia, was the son of Andrew Hamilton, the eminent lawyer who won fame with the friends of liberty and of free speech in America, by the defense of John Peter Zenger, the printer, in New York in 1735. James was born about 1710, it is supposed, in Accomac County, Va., and died in the city of New York, August 14, 1783. He was a man of good habits, well educated, and attentive to business. He was elected to the provincial assembly in 1754, and re-elected for five successive terms. On the retirement of his father as prothonotary of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, he was appointed to that office. In 1765 he was elected mayor of Philadelphia, and on retiring from that position, set the example, which was followed, that instead of giving a banquet, as had been the custom of his predecessors, he contributed £150 to a fund for erecting needed public buildings. This precedent was followed by his successors for many years. At the death of his father, he came into the possession of a very handsome estate which included "Bush Hill," where he resided. In 1746 he became a member of the Provincial Council, and in 1748, while in London, was commissioned the first native lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania, by the sons of William Penn. He resigned this office in 1754, to the regret of the leading citizens, but was induced in 1759 to resume the office, which he filled acceptably until 1763, when he retired. Again on the retirement of John Penn, he administered the government as provost of the council, until the arrival of Richard Penn in 1771. In 1773, he was for a brief period at the head of the Government. He had been so much in the service of the Crown, that it is not strange he should have found it difficult to adopt the extreme views of the Colonies and be prepared to take up arms against the mother country. Although prudent in his conduct, in 1777 he was arrested, but paroled. He resided at Northampton during the occupation of Philadelphia by the British army. He has left a good record in his efforts to found some of the benevolent institutions of Philadelphia. He was an active and useful member of the American Philosophical Society, and of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

¹⁰⁴ Christ Church was the earliest Episcopal organization formed in Philadelphia. The society erected, in 1695, a small wooden building on Second

3. At Congress till 3 o'clock. Dined at Mr. Reeds.¹⁰⁵
4. At Congress till 3 O'clock dined at young Doct^r. Shippens
5. At Congress as above, Dined at Doct^r. Bonds¹⁰⁶

street, between Market and Arch streets. The structure was enlarged at different times, and was finally, about 1755, entirely rebuilt. The service Washington attended was in the handsome new structure. John Adams, in his diary under this date, says: "Went to Christ Church and heard Mr. Combe upon 'Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment.'" "

¹⁰⁵ Joseph Reed, esq., was born at Trenton, N. J., August 27, 1741, and died in Philadelphia, March 5, 1785. He was a graduate of Princeton College in 1757, after which he studied law with Robert Stockton, and was admitted to the bar in 1763. He then went to Europe and spent two years at the Middle Temple in London. Returning, he began the practice of his profession at Trenton, and in 1767 was appointed deputy secretary of New Jersey. In 1770 he returned to England and there married Esther, daughter of Dennis De Berdt, the agent of Massachusetts in Great Britain. On his return to America, he settled in Philadelphia, and there pursued the practice of law with success. In all the early movements in the Colonies, which led up to the armed collision between them and Great Britain, he was an active and intelligent friend of America. In 1774 he was appointed a member of the committee of correspondence, and in January, 1775, was chosen president of the Second Provincial Congress. On the formation of the Pennsylvania associated militia, after the news of the battle of Lexington, he was chosen lieutenant-colonel of a regiment. When Washington was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the American forces, he accepted the position of military secretary to him, and, leaving his practice, he accompanied the general to Boston. In October, 1775, with the approval of Washington, he returned to Philadelphia, and in January, 1776, was chosen a member of the Assembly, and was acting chairman of the committee of safety. On June 5, he was appointed Adjutant-General of the American Army with the rank of colonel, and was active in the campaign that terminated with the battle of Long Island. In 1777, on the recommendation of Washington, he was appointed a brigadier-general and tendered the command of all the Continental cavalry, which he declined. March 20, 1777, he was appointed chief justice of Pennsylvania, which he also declined and remained attached to General Washington's headquarters as a volunteer aid, without rank or pay, serving with credit at Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. In this year he was elected to the Continental Congress. In 1778 he was chosen president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, which office he held for three years. He exposed an attempt of the British to bribe him with a large sum of money.

¹⁰⁶ Dr. Thomas Bond was born near Annapolis, Md., in 1712, and died in Philadelphia, 1784. After acquiring a classical education, chiefly from private tutors, he began the study of medicine with Dr. Hamilton, of Annapolis; after a thorough office training, he went to Europe and took a special course in the hospitals of Paris and London. Returning to America, he began the practice of his profession in Philadelphia in 1734. His correct

6. At Congress—din'd at Mr. Sam^l Meridith's.¹⁰⁷
7. At Congress—Dined at Mr. Tho^s. Smiths.—¹⁰⁸
8. At Congress—Dined with Mr. John Cadwallader ¹⁰⁹

deportment and his devotion to professional duty soon attracted attention and won him an admiring clientage. He was not only humane but full of enterprise, and materially assisted in founding the college of Philadelphia: He gave the first course of clinical lectures to medical students in the Pennsylvania Hospital. As early as 1743, he was a member of a literary society composed of such men as Dr. B. Franklin, Bertram, Godfrey Coleman, and others of scientific and literary tastes. He was for many years an officer of the American Philosophical Society, and delivered the annual address in 1782. He was the author of a number of papers on medical and philosophical subjects, printed in the transactions of that Society. He was widely known as a learned physician, and very skillful surgeon, and was devoted to the interests of the Pennsylvania Hospital.

¹⁰⁷ Samuel Meredith was born in Philadelphia, 1740, and died on his estate, in Luzerne County, Pa., March 10, 1817. The Meredith family were from Wales. Their admiration for Washington began with the father of Samuel, Rees Meredith, a successful merchant of Philadelphia, who met Washington by accident in a public house, when he was quite a young man, and was so pleased with his dignified demeanor, patriotic sentiments, and wide intelligence, that he invited him to dine with him on fresh venison. The acquaintance thus begun proved lasting, and extended from father to sons. Samuel had served as a member of the legislature before the Revolution. In 1775 he entered the military service as major of the 3rd Pennsylvania Battalion, was in numerous engagements, and soon promoted for gallant services to be a brigadier-general. In an emergency during the war he and his brother-in-law, George Clymer, the signer, each gave £10,000 in silver to carry on the war. Gen. Meredith was exiled from Philadelphia during its occupancy by the British. He was a member of the old Congress 1787-'88, and was the first Treasurer of the United States, from 1787 to 1801, when he resigned. To aid the new Government, he advanced for it \$20,000, and subsequently \$120,000, which, it is stated, has never been repaid. Washington's diaries show that he dined with Mr. Meredith in Philadelphia in 1773, and again in 1774, and on other occasions.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Smith. No data.

¹⁰⁹ John Cadwallader was born in Philadelphia, January 10, 1742, and died in Shrewsbury, Pa., February 11, 1786. He was the son of the eminent physician, Thomas Cadwallader, of Philadelphia. John was an early and zealous advocate of the rights of the Colonies in the controversy with the mother country. He was one of the original members of the Committee of Safety, and captain of a military company prior to the Revolution, which, in a bantering way, was called the "Silk Stocking Company," but the high character of the men composing it may be inferred from the fact that most of the members, in the progress of the military organization of the troops of the State, served as commissioned officers. On the organization of the city forces, he was placed in command of that bat-

9. Went to the Presbyterian Meeting¹¹⁰ in the forenoon and Romish Church¹¹¹ in the afternoon dind at Bevans's¹¹²

10. At Congress.—din'd at Doct. Morgan's—¹¹³

talion, and shortly afterward made brigadier-general and placed in command of the Pennsylvania militia. Gen. Cadwallader coöperated very efficiently with Washington in the capture of the Hessians at Trenton, December 26, 1776, and was present as a volunteer at the battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. In the fall of 1777, at the request of Gen. Washington, he assisted in organizing the militia of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. In 1778 the combination known as the "Conway Cabal" becoming aggressive against Washington, Gen. Cadwallader denounced and challenged the most outspoken of the plotters, Thomas Conway. They met, and Conway was wounded, but recovered. As Gen. Cadwallader's service was in the Pennsylvania militia, and not in the regular Continental service, he was therefore only a volunteer aid to Washington when the Pennsylvania militia were not in the field, although he declined the appointment of brigadier-general from Congress in 1777. After the independence of the States was recognized, he removed to Maryland and served at different times in the legislature of that State, from Kent County. His daughter, Fanny, married David Montague, afterward Lord Erskine.

¹¹⁰ The Presbyterian meeting house or "New meeting house," as it was then spoken of, under the charge of the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, was situated on the northwest corner of Third and Arch streets. The venerable Dr. Allison preached a sacramental discourse that day on which John Adams in his diary makes some comments.

¹¹¹ Catholic Church, mentioned here as the "Romish Church," was most likely St. Mary's on Fourth street, above Spruce, and was built about 1763. It served for a time as the bishop's church or cathedral, under the administration of the first Bishop of Philadelphia, the Right Rev. Michael Egan. John Adams in his diary under this date says, "Went in the afternoon to the Romish Chapel, and heard a good discourse on the duty of parents to their children, founded on justice and charity. The scenery and the music are so calculated to take in mankind, that I wonder the reformation ever succeeded. The paintings, the bells, the candles, the gold and silver, and the Saviour on the Cross over the altar, at full length, and all His wounds bleeding. The chanting is exquisitely soft and sweet."

¹¹² Bevans's. Possibly a public house.

¹¹³ John Morgan, M. D., was born in Philadelphia, 1735, and died in the same city, October 15, 1789. He was the son of Evan Morgan, a native of Wales, who settled in Philadelphia and became a prosperous merchant. John received a classical education at the Rev. Mr. Finley's academy and at the College of Philadelphia from which he graduated in 1757. As was then the custom, he was apprenticed to the study of medicine, with Dr. John Redman of Philadelphia. On the conclusion of his office studies, he entered the military service for a brief period, serving with the Pennsylvania troops, then engaged in the French and Indian war. In 1760 he went to Europe to study further and to prosecute, in the large hospitals and colleges, a more systematic course of medicine than America afforded. In Paris

Oct^r. 11. Din'd at my Lodgings & spent the Evening at Bevan's

12. At Congress all the forenoon Dined at Mr. Jos^h. Whar-
tons ¹¹⁴ & went to y^e Gov^{rs}. Club.—¹¹⁵

he met and renewed a pleasant acquaintance with Dr. Benjamin Franklin, who introduced him to many eminent and scientific gentlemen in England and on the Continent. In 1763, he received the degree of M. D. from the University of Edinburgh. The following year was spent in the study of anatomy and physiology. He wrote a paper on "The art of making anatomical preparations by corrosions," and was elected a member of the Royal Academy. After visiting Italy and Holland, he returned to London for further study, and became a licentiate of "The College of Physicians and Surgeons." In 1765 he returned to Philadelphia thoroughly equipped for the practice of his profession. Shortly afterward he was largely instrumental in founding the medical department of the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, in which he was appointed the professor of the theory and practice of medicine. In 1775 he was appointed, by Congress, director-general of the military hospitals and physician in chief of the American Army, and immediately joined Gen. Washington, at Boston. The medical department, at this time, existed chiefly in name. He exerted himself with intelligence and energy to make it efficient and systematic in the conduct of the duties assigned to it with measurable success when all the difficulties are considered. Jealousies were excited and rivalries developed so that Congress, taking sides January 9, 1777, without inquiry or report to them of any facts in the case, dismissed him, and appointed a successor. Later, upon repeated petitions, his administration of the hospital department was inquired into, and he was acquitted of all blame. He continued his services in the Pennsylvania Hospital until 1783. Dr. Morgan was a member of the Royal Society of London, a member of the Belles-letters Society of Rome, the American Philosophical Society, and many others. His medical papers and writings show that he was not only a ripe scholar, but also thoroughly imbued with the spirit of scientific investigation.

¹¹⁴ Joseph Wharton was born in Philadelphia, March 21, 1733, and died there December 25, 1816. He was the son of Joseph Wharton, merchant, who was also born in Philadelphia, August 4, 1707, and died in that city July, 1776. Joseph, the second, went to England in 1775, and while there wrote a number of letters on the attitude of Great Britain to the Colonies, which were published and, at the time, attracted much attention; but afterwards for safety he had to leave London for France. While in England he was much in the company of the artist, Benjamin West. It was mainly through his suggestion and influence that West's painting of "Christ Healing the Sick" was given to the Pennsylvania Hospital. The transfer of this picture was only definitely accomplished in 1817.

¹¹⁵ John Penn, lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania in 1774, was the son of Richard and the grandson of William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania. He was born in London, July 14, 1729, and died on his estate in Bucks County, Pa., February, 1795. He was well educated when he came to Pennsylvania in 1753, and was at once admitted as a member of the

13. Dined at my lodgings—after being at Congress till 4 ocl^k.

14. Dined at Mr. Tho^s. Barclay's¹¹⁶ and spent the Evening at Smiths

15. Dined at Bevans's—spent the Evening at home.—

16. Went to Christ Church in the forenoon—after which rid to, & dind in y^e Provence Island—Suppd at Byrns's—¹¹⁷

17. After Congress dind at board Captⁿ. Hamilton¹¹⁸—Spent the Evening at Mr. Miflin's

18. Dined at Doct^r. Rush's¹¹⁹ and spent the Evening at y^e New Tavern.—

Provincial council with the right to succeed to the presidency when a vacancy occurred. In 1754 he was sent as one of the commissioners of the colony to the Congress which met in Albany. In 1763 he became lieutenant-governor on the death of his father. In 1771 he inherited one-third of the Province, his uncle, Thomas, owning the remainder, by whose deputation and in his own right, he became governor of the Province in 1773. He was opposed on principle, to taxation without representation. At the outset of the Revolution, the patriots organized an assembly, in the nature of a committee of safety, without consulting the governor. Governor Penn saw it was no use to antagonize the sentiment and while protesting, remained inactive. Most of the great landed estate of the Penns was confiscated, although the governor never took up arms against the Colonies. There was said to have been a very cordial friendship existing between Washington and Governor Penn, from the period of the French and Indian war, which was never entirely broken off.

¹¹⁶ Thomas Barclay. The writer has not identified this gentleman.

¹¹⁷ Byrns's. Probably a public house.

¹¹⁸ Capt. W. Hamilton. The Pennsylvania Gazette of October 5, 1774, records the fact that W. Hamilton of the Ship "*Union*" has taken a clearance.

¹¹⁹ Benjamin Rush, M. D., signer of the Declaration of Independence, was born in Bybury Township, Philadelphia County, Pa., December 24, 1745, and died in Philadelphia, April 19, 1813. His grandfather, John Rush, commanded a troop of horse in Cromwell's army, and in 1683 emigrated to Pennsylvania. When Benjamin was but 6 years old, his father died. His earliest instructor was his uncle, Rev. Samuel Finley. Later he was sent to Princeton College, where he graduated in 1760. He read medicine with Dr. John Redman, and then went to Europe and graduated in that study at the University of Edinburgh, 1768. He also studied at the hospitals in London and Paris. Here he had the wise counsel of Dr. B. Franklin. In 1769 he returned to Philadelphia, and shortly after was elected professor of chemistry in the College of Philadelphia. In 1771 he published papers on slavery, temperance and health, and in 1774 delivered an oration before the Philosophical Society on the natural history of medicine among the Indians. He early identified himself in the pre-revolutionary movements in advocacy of colonial rights. As a member of the Pennsylvania provincial congress, and chairman of a committee, he reported that it was expe-

19. Dined at Mr. Willings & spent the Evening at my own lodgings

20. Dind at y^e New Tavern with y^e Pens^a. Assembly ¹²⁰ — went to the Ball afterwards

dient that Congress declare independence. He was surgeon of the Pennsylvania navy from September to July, 1776, when he was elected member of Congress, which gave him the opportunity to sign the Declaration of Independence. In 1776 he married Julia, daughter of Richard Stockton, and in the same year was appointed Surgeon-General of the Middle Department of the Continental Army, becoming Physician-General in 1777. He was a man of much mental activity, well informed, and had great physical powers for prolonged labor. After the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Trenton and Princeton, he underwent for some days great fatigue. In 1778 he resigned on account of wrongs that had been done the soldiers in regard to hospital stores; and a coolness, about this time, existed between him and Gen. Washington. He refused compensation for his services while in the army and resumed private practice. For twenty-nine years he was surgeon to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and port physician in Philadelphia in 1790-'93. He was influential in founding Dickinson College and the Philadelphia Dispensary. He was a member of the convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States, and also of the convention that drafted the constitution of the State of Pennsylvania. He performed a prodigious amount of labor during the epidemic of yellow fever in Philadelphia in 1793. His practice was bold and heroic. From 1790 to his death he was treasurer of the United States Mint. He was an influential and valued member of nearly all the scientific societies of his time, and wrote much and well on every subject that engaged his attention. In medical literature he is spoken of as the Sydenham of America.

¹²⁰ This dinner given to the delegates to the Continental Congress by the assembly of Pennsylvania, was a polite recognition of the character of the men composing that body, as well as a respectful consideration for the sister provinces from which they came. The courtesy of the affair, considering the fact that the Congress was unauthorized by the ministers of Great Britain or the crown officers residing in America, all of whom would have prevented it if they could, was a high compliment, emphasized by the further fact that it was given under the patronage of the newly elected assembly of Pennsylvania, which was largely made up of "Friends," who were on principle opposed to the exercise of armed force. An analysis of the list of members shows that six delegates to the Continental Congress were also members elect of the assembly; and also that in this assembly were two who were afterwards signers of the Declaration of Independence. If we include the counties on the Delaware there were then three more who were members of the Continental Congress, and were later signers of the Declaration of Independence. Although there were some non-combatants, there were also others who were distinguished in arms and statesmanship, like John Dickinson, who was a tower of strength to the patriot cause. Such were the hosts and committee of reception in this, the first state dinner of the Revolution. From John Adams' diary

we quote the following in relation to the dinner of one hundred or more guests. During the evening he says:

"A sentiment was given, 'May the sword of the parent never be stained with the blood of her children.' Two or three broad brims over against me at the table; one of them said, 'that is not a toast but a prayer; come, let us join in it.' And they took their glasses accordingly."

The editor wishes to acknowledge the obligation he is under to Dr. W. H. Egle, M. D., of Harrisburg, Pa., for the list of members of the newly elected assembly, and the particulars relating to this entertainment from the original minutes of the assembly of Pennsylvania, under date of October 14, 1774.

"Upon motion by Mr. Ross,

"*Resolved*, unanimously, that John Dickinson, esq., be, and is hereby added to the Committee of Deputies appointed by the late Assembly of this province to attend the General Congress now sitting in the City of Philadelphia on American Grievances.

"*Resolved*, That this House shall provide an entertainment, to be given on Thursday next, to the deputies from the several Colonies attending public business in this city.

"*Ordered*, That Mr. Gray, Mr. Hillegas, Mr. Mifflin, Mr. Rodman, Mr. Pearson, Mr. Wayne, and Mr. Ross, with the Speaker, be a Committee to provide and superintend the said entertainment, and that Mr. Speaker do invite the gentlemen of the Congress accordingly."

Upon motion on Friday, October 21, the following resolutions were passed:

"*Ordered*, That Mr. Gray, Mr. Hillegas, Mr. Mifflin, Mr. Rodman, Mr. Pearson, Mr. Wayne, and Mr. Ross, or any four of them, with the Speaker, be a committee to settle accounts of the entertainment given yesterday, and of the expenses attending the sitting of the Congress, and that the said committee do draw orders, for discharging the same, on Samuel Preston Moore, esq., to be paid out of the late interest money in his hands."

Names of the members of the assembly of the province of Pennsylvania, chosen at the annual elections held October 1, 1774.

For the County of Philadelphia:

George Gray.
Henry Pawling.
John Dickinson.
Joseph Parker.
Isreal Jacobs.
Jonathan Roberts.
Michael Hillegas.
†Samuel Rhoads.

For the City of Philadelphia:

†Thomas Mifflin.
Charles Thomson.

For the County of Bucks.

John Brown.
John Foulke.

For the County of Bucks—Cont'd.

William Rodman.
Benjamin Chapman.
†Joseph Galloway.
Robert Kirkbride.
Gerardus Wynkoop.
John Raney.

For the County of Chester:

Benjamin Bartholomew.
John Jacobs.
Joseph Pennock.
James Gibbons.
Isaac Pearson.
†Charles Humphreys.

*†John Morton.

Oct^r. 21. Dined at my lodging & spent the Evening there also

22. Dined at M^r. Griffin's & drank Tea with M^{rs}. Roberdeau¹²¹

For the County of Chester—Cont'd.

Anthony Wayne.

For the County of Lancaster:

James Webb.

Joseph Ferree.

Matthias Slough.

*†George Ross.

For the County of York:

James Ewing.

Michael Swoope.

For the County of Cumberland:

William Allen.

John Montgomery.

For the County of Berks:

†Edward Biddle.

Henry Christ.

For the County of Northampton:

William Edmunds.

For the County of Bedford:

Bernhard Daugherty.

For the County of Northumberland:

Samuel Hunter.

For the County of Westmoreland.

William Thompson.

Names with a star (*) before them were subsequently signers of the Declaration of Independence and those with a dagger (†) were members of the Continental Congress of 1774.

"The Pennsylvania Gazette of October 26, 1774, says:

"On Thursday last an elegant entertainment, at the City Tavern, was given by the Assembly of this Province to the Gentlemen of the Congress."

¹²¹ Daniel Roberdeau was born in the island of St. Christopher, West Indies, in 1727, and died in Winchester, Va., January 5, 1795. He was the son of Isaac Roberdeau, a French Huguenot, and was brought by his mother's family, who were Scotch, to Philadelphia. From his youth he was trained to merchandising and the counting house. He was well educated, active, intelligent and attentive to business. He was as early as 1752 a Mason and was a member of the Pennsylvania assembly in 1756, serving until 1760. In 1765 he was an elder in the Presbyterian church. Early in the movement of the Revolution, he identified himself with the friends of the colonies, and joining the Pennsylvania Associators was elected, in 1775, colonel of the Second Battalion, and made president of the board of government of the association. He presided at a public meeting at the State house May 20, 1776, which greatly influenced sentiment in favor of the Declaration of Independence. While in command of his battalion, he and his partner Col. John Bayard, fitted out two ships as privateers, one of which took a valuable prize with \$22,000 in silver which he placed at the disposal of Congress. July 4, 1776, he was chosen a member of the council of safety, the same year was elected brigadier-general of the Pennsylvania troops, and assisted Washington in New Jersey. In February, 1777, he was elected to the Continental Congress and served until 1779. In 1778, in hope of supplying lead to aid the army, he undertook to start the smelting of lead from the ore at a disused mine in Bedford County, Pa., where he established a fort and smelting works. The project did not succeed, however.

In May, 1779, he presided at a public meeting in Philadelphia, to expose and correct the abuses of depreciating the currency. After the Revolu-

23. Dined at my lodgings and spent the Evening there
24. Dined with Mr. Mease & spent the Evening at the New Tavern
25. Dined at my lodgings
26. Dined at Bevans's, and Spent the Evening at the New Tavern.—
27. Set out on my return home dined at Chester and lodged at New castle
28. Breakfasted at the Buck Tavern—Dined at Downs's & lodged at Newtown upon Chester
29. Breakfasted at Rockhall & reachd Annapolis in the Afternoon.—
30. Breakfasted at Mr. Calverts¹²² & reachd home abt. 3 oclock.¹²³
31. At home all day.—

tion the general removed to Alexandria, Va., and became a neighbor of Washington's, though he soon afterwards removed to Winchester, where he died. He had a son, Isaac who resided at Georgetown, D. C., dying there in 1829.

¹²² Benedict Calvert, esq.: Mount Airy, the seat of the Calvert family in Maryland, is in Prince George County, situated about 15 miles from the city of Washington and 6 from Upper Marlboro. The land was bought from Ignatius Digges. This estate was inherited by Benedict from his father, Charles Calvert, sixth Lord Baltimore, then it descended to his eldest son, Edward Henry, who married Elizabeth Briscoe; George, a second son, married an heiress, a Miss Rosalie Steel, of Maryland, and established his house near Bladensburg, the beautiful estate known as "Riversdale," which is often erroneously referred to by writers as the old family estate of the Calverts. Benedict died at Mount Airy in 1788, had three daughters, Eleanor, Elizabeth and Ariana. Eleanor married John Parke Custis, the son of Mrs. Martha Washington by her first husband; and the ward of Gen. Geo. Washington; she bore him four children. Her husband died at Eltham, of camp fever contracted at Yorktown, in 1781. Elizabeth married Charles Stuart, esq., of "Dodon," near Annapolis, Md. The third daughter never married.

¹²³ As of interest in connection with the first Continental Congress, the following transcript is made from Washington's cashbook of moneys paid out by him for purchases and for his expenses while in and traveling to and from Philadelphia:

Sept. 4, 1774. By travelling Expe ^s . to the Congress at Phila.		
	pr mem ^m . Book.....	£10-11-12
By Sundries purchased there—viz.		
	a pr of Boots for Serv ^t	£2. 5. 0
" 6	a pr of Shoes &c Do.....	15. 0
" 17	Pock ^t . hand'f ^s 4	19. 0
" 19	5 y ^d s. of Chints a 10/.....	£2. 10. 0

By Sundries purchased there—viz.—Continued.		
Sept. 19, 1774.	7½ y ^{ds} . of Cotton.....	£2. 14. 4
“ 25	1 p ^s . of Irish Lin ⁿ . a 5/3.....	6. 13. 10
“ 30	1 Cotton Gown 7 y ^{ds} a 5/.....	1. 15. 0
	1 doz ⁿ . Pock ^t . Hand fs a 4/3.....	2. 11. 0
	1 p ^r . Silk Hose.....	1. 4. 0
	Bed Furniture & mark ^s	55. 12. 6
	3 Bedsteads.....	12. 0. 0
	1 Tooth Brush.....	1. 3
	1 Razor Strap.....	11. 0
	6½ y ^{ds} . Calico a 7/6.....	2. 8. 9
	Mr. Marchintons Acct } besides £3 for Col Lee }	£3. 8. 3
October 5 th . viz	12 p ^r Woolcards.....	1. 10. 0
	6 p ^r Cotton “.....	1. 0. 0
	1 Pocket Book.....	15. 0
8 th .	1 Bell & Furniture.....	1. 16. 10
	1 p Irish Linen.....	4. 13. 9
	Mr. Barrels Acct.....	5. 7. 6
“ 10 th .	1 lb Snuff.....	7. 6
	Mr. Marchintons 2nd Acct.....	19. 4. 0
	Mr. Simpson for shoes.....	4. 6. 0
“ 12 th .	Mr. Marchinton's 3 rd . Acct.....	15. 6. 9
	2 p ^r of white Rib'd Hose.....	15. 0
“ 13 th .	1 Pocket Book.....	1. 5. 0
	1 Watch Key.....	2. 6
	A Sword Chain.....	2. 0. 0
	8 Cakes Shoe Blacking.....	12. 0
“ 19 th .	20½ y ^{ds} . paint ^d . Ribbon.....	2. 16. 0
“ 20 th .	Mr Wm Milner's 2 ^d Acct.....	3. 15. 0
“ 21	4 y ^{ds} painted Ribben.....	9. 0
	10 y ^{ds} of edging.....	10. 0
	4 p ^r Nutt Crackers.....	12. 0
	1 Small hand vice.....	5. 6
“ 22 nd .	1 Doz ⁿ . p ^r coarse y ⁿ . Hose.....	2. 10. 0
	1 p ^r yarn Gloves.....	2. 6
“ 24 th .	1 p ^r Buckskin Gloves.....	7. 6
	2 p ^r Shoes for self.....	1. 3. 6
	Cloak for my Mother.....	10. 2. 1
	An artificial Magnet.....	1. 6
	10 yards of edging.....	10. 0
“ 25 th .	Mr. Wm. Milnor's 3 rd . Acct.....	15. 8. 6
	“ “ “ 6 fish Rimbs.....	1. 2. 6
	a Pock ^t . Book M ^{rs} W—n.....	4. 15. 0
	a p ^r of Gloves.....	3. 6
	a Chaize for my mother.....	40. 0. 0
	Sundry Pamphlets.....	17. 6
		<hr/> 459. 16. 0

By Sundries purchased there—viz.—Continued.		
October 27 th .	By Expens in Philad ^a	62. 2. 4
	By Charity there	5. 10. 2
	By Cash given away.....	13. 10. 0
	By Servants	3. 4. 0
" 30 th .	By Exp ^s in returning from Phd ^a	8. 15. 1
		<hr/>
		363. 16. 9
	Deduct 25 p ^r Ct Exch ^d to reduce it to	
	Virginia Curn ^y	112. 15. 4
		<hr/>
		£251. 1. 5

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